

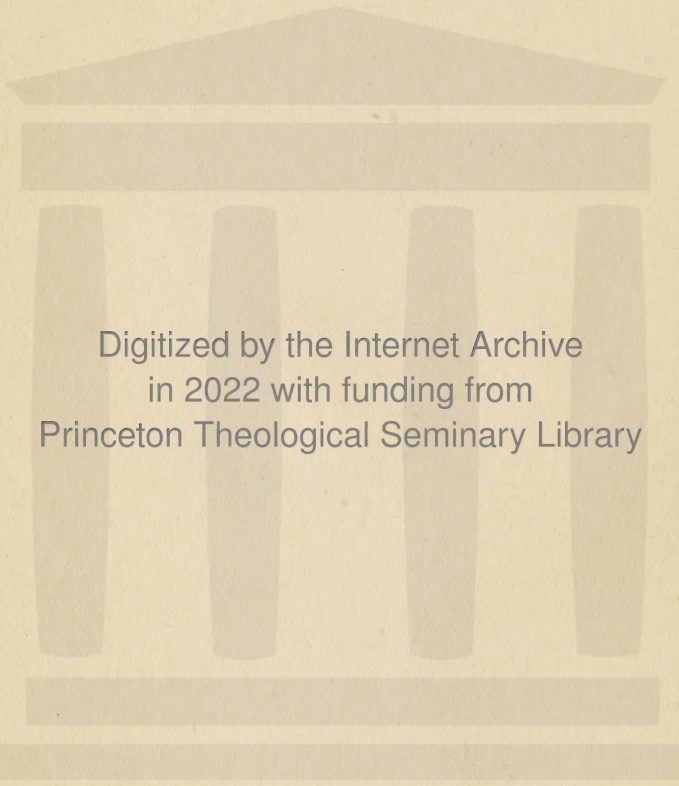
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THE QUAKERS IN WALES.







A HISTORY  
OF THE  
**Quakers in Wales**  
AND THEIR  
Emigration to North America.



BY THE  
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other volumes.*



Prize Composition at the Mold National Eisteddfod, 1923,  
under the adjudication of Norman Penney, Esq.,  
F.S.A., F.R.HIST.S., and the Rev.  
T. Shankland, M.A.



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## DEDICATION.



THIS VOLUME IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED BY THE AUTHOR TO JOHN HENRY LLOYD, ESQ., EDGBASTON GROVE, BIRMINGHAM, A DESCENDANT OF THE WELL-KNOWN WELSH QUAKER FAMILY OF DOLOBRAN, MONTGOMERYSHIRE, AND THE DONOR OF THE EISTEDDFOD PRIZE FOR THE BEST "HISTORY OF THE QUAKERS IN WALES AND THEIR EMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA." WITHOUT HIS GENEROUS ASSISTANCE THIS WORK COULD NOT HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED.

## ERRATA.



"Dress," not "drees," p. 6.

Elizabeth Lewis d. 1771, not 1671, p. 92.

"Coednewydd," not "Coedewydd," p. 130.

"The," not "tue," line 21, p. 139.

"Rhiwlas," not "Rhiwlon," p. 172.

"Palmer," not "Parmer," p. 172.

"VI," not "IV," p. 212.

"n," not "u," in Monmouthshire M.M., p. 215.



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## PREFACE.



"The Messengers of it were entertained with scorn and derision, with Beatings, Buffetings, Stonings, Pinchings, Kickings, Dirtings, Pumpings, and all manner of abuses from the rude and ungovernable rabble: and from the Magistrates, who should have been their Defenders, they met with spoiling of goods, Stockings, Whippings, Imprisonments, Banishments, and even Death itself." (Preface to Besse's *Sufferings of the People called Quakers*, p. iii.)

ACCORDING to Carlyle: "Stern accuracy in inquiring, bold imagination in expounding . . . are the two pinions on which history soars." Throughout this work we have endeavoured to keep in mind his striking dictum. How often we have been humbled, thrilled, and made glad in the course of our investigation. We met with tragedy and romance, suffering and rejoicing. Sometimes the "saving grace" of quiet good humour relieved the tension of strange feelings caused by the record of loss and imprisonment. For example, George Fox speaking Welsh at Scarborough. Naturally, he became at once a dearer Friend. John ap John must have taught him "mountain Greek," as someone called Welsh. The only recorded instance of Fox using the ancient language of Wales won him a convert. It was in 1666 when he was visited at Scarborough by the Bailiff's son. "He came to dispute, and spoke Hebrew to me, and I spoke in Welsh to him, and bid him fear God—who after became a pretty Friend." [Fox's *Journal*, edited by Norman Penney, Vol. II., p. 106.] If Quakerism had spoken more in Welsh and less in English its decline would not have been so great in Wales. Other instances of Quaker humour were found, which are notified. One Quaker iron-master who was pressed with orders told his foreman, "Frank, we want another day in the week." "Thou art right, another First Day," was the unexpected answer.

We began, thinking that the material might prove scanty, but our researches revealed that the data were abundant, and that our difficulty would be selection. The historian is apt to over-burden his work with all kinds of facts, and is unwilling to set aside even the minutest detail which he has discovered. However, in this case, we were compelled



to observe the process of sifting, but we trust that nothing of vital importance has been left out of the record. Facts speak for themselves, and in the *History of Quakers in Wales* they are multitudinous. To arrange these according to the different counties has been a somewhat difficult task.

We have endeavoured to consult all documents in Welsh and English bearing upon the subject, in private and public libraries, and beg to thank Friends and librarians for their readiness to assist us in our researches, especially the staff at Devonshire House; Rylands Library; the National Library of Wales; and the Rev. J. Jenkins, M.A. (*Gwili*), Librarian at the time of the Salisbury Library, University College, Cardiff.

We tender sincere thanks to F. W. Gibbins, Esq., J.P., Garthmôr, Neath, for the loan of important books and MSS. and for valuable personal information; to T. A. Glenn, Esq., the author of *Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania*, for permission to utilize his invaluable list of Welsh Quaker Emigrants; to the Rev. B. J. Elsmere for the loan of cuttings and other documents; and to T. Richards, Esq., M.A., Maesteg, for several suggestions.

We submit our work to the sympathetic consideration of every lover of Truth.

24 *Rugby Avenue,*  
*Neath, S. Wales,*  
1/3/1925.

# The Quakers in Wales.

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## I.

### Quakerism in its Welsh Setting. Its rise in 1653 and Progress.



THE rise and progress of Quakerism in Wales in the seventeenth century is one of the most remarkable events in the annals of the country. The movement spread quickly, and thousands of Welsh people flocked to the standard raised by George Fox. Thoughtful Puritans recognized that it was an effort to resuscitate true religion, and to rescue the Church from the corruptions which had sprung up around it. Luther, Cranmer, and Cromwell had not gone far enough, for much sacerdotalism remained to be purged away before primitive Christianity could be recovered. The Welsh people had for centuries been most conservative in religion. They did not take easily to Roman Catholicism, but when once established in that faith, reformers found it difficult to convert them to Protestantism.

The progress of Quakerism was rapid compared with that of Protestantism and Puritanism, because it was free from State control. Established religion, whether Anglican, Presbyterian, or Independent, did not suit the Welsh temperament. Early in 1653 the itinerant preachers appointed by Parliament to propagate the gospel in Wales, appealed to Cromwell. "Gentlemen," he wrote in reply, "the late Parliament not having continued the Act for the propagation of the Gospel in Wales, and there being no supreme power as yet settled by whose authority *the liberty* of the gospel in Wales may *be established*, I would advise you to go on cheerfully in this work as formerly." In that same year the Quaker conception of liberty found favour in Wales.

Dr. Thomas Hodgkin in his Introduction to "The First Publishers of Truth," edited by Mr. Norman Penney, asks:

"what were the pre-disposing causes which made Cumberland and Westmoreland so ready to receive Fox's message with enthusiasm, while Puritan East Anglia stood aloof, or was even hostile." He conjectures that the indolence of the Church of England and the absence of sectaries accounted for the remarkable success. If this conjecture be true of the northern parts, it is not true of Wales; for the first publishers of truth in Wales succeeded best in the provinces of the most popular Puritan preachers, such as Morgan Llwyd, Vavasor Powell, Walter Cradock, William Erbury, Henry Walter, Morris Bidwell, Marmaduke Matthews, Stephen Hughes, and others. In Wales the primary object of Fox's revolt seemed to succeed—a revolt not against Episcopacy, but Puritanism. This explains why so many ultra-Puritan justices were convinced. They hungered for reality, which in their own churches they failed to find. The fundamental doctrine of the Inward Light came as a flashlight from heaven to hundreds of Welsh people who were well versed in the scriptures. The Welsh Puritans were people of one Book, and the New Light shed glory and illumination upon the word of God. They were delivered from a cold and barren literalism. The letter killed, but the spirit made all alive. They were accustomed to long prayers, which were dead and formal.

Quakerism appeared when Wales had been freed by Cromwell from every recognized form of ecclesiastical organization. But in spite of this freedom, Puritanism did not prosper as Cromwell desired in the Principality. In 1649 "the act for the better propagation of the gospel in Wales and redress of some grievances" was passed, which had the power to create a commission of seventy-one persons who could eject such priests as they judged guilty of scandal, malignancy, non-residence, or any delinquency, and to fill their places "with godly and painful men." This act was vigorously enforced, and about one hundred and eighty-five livings passed into the hands of the commissioners, who placed strong Puritans in the vacant positions.

Gardiner, in his *History of the Commonwealth*, calls Wales "that unpuritanical land," where Vavasor Powell, "the most conspicuous of the intrusive ministers, a perfervid Welshman, gained numerous converts." Vol. II., p. 249.

Dr. John Owen admitted in his sermon before Parliament, 30 Oct., 1656, that Puritanism had not met with great success in Wales. "Some are still zealous of the traditions of their fathers, and nothing, almost, will satisfy them but their old road of beggarly readers in every parish. Others again, perhaps out of a good zeal, have hurried the people with violence beyond their principles—and sometimes, it may be,



beyond the truth ; and as Jacob said, over-driving the cattle and young ones has almost destroyed the whole flock." Owen's works (Goold), Vol. VIII., p. 452.

Between formality and blind zeal the work of Puritanism was almost cast to the ground. The freedom granted by Cromwell gave rise to new sects, which fostered controversy more than true religion. The field in Wales was favourable for the spread of Quakerism. What with paedo-baptists and anti-paedo-baptists, men asked why not join the Quakers who have no form of outward baptism. Walter Cradock believed in infant baptism, Vavasor Powell in believer's baptism, while Morgan Llwyd left baptism an open question. The first publishers were very successful among Baptists in Radnorshire. Under the Commonwealth church courts, church laws, ceremonies, ordinances, and church assemblies were not enforced. Each congregation was allowed to administer Baptism and the Lord's Supper in the manner it considered best. There was no stipulation as regards their administration. Commissioners were only concerned with the personal character and the fitness of the ministers they appointed in the place of those ejected.

In Wales, Baptists, Independents, and Presbyterians were presented to vacant livings. "If anyone be of these three judgments—Presbyterian, Anabaptist, Independent—he may be admitted into the ministry if he have the root of the matter in him."—*Cromwell*. Under this system Quakerism flourished marvellously between 1654—1660. Puritan doctrines were called by Fox notions about things divine. Experimental reality was the first requisite of every true Quaker. Quakerism escaped the fate of many religious sects because its ideal touched the conscience as well as the imagination. Its ethics and philanthropic temper helped to make the Christian life the inspired life. The life had to be lived, and could not be administered by ordinances and priests. The gospel was something to be declared and not administered, for life, especially, the life of the Spirit must be bestowed and cannot be administered by sacrament or so-called sacred person. The word of God became "Inner Light," and the "Bread of life" to earnest seekers. The new religion suffered at the hands of certain unlettered people ; but generally speaking it came as a breath of life to those who embraced its tenets. It did not succeed in framing a definite theory of the seat of authority, which was its glory on one hand and the cause of much suffering and failure on the other. On the one side there was the belief of the Spirit in the individual conscience, and on the other the Bible, whose inspiration the Quakers admitted. If in theory they had no objective rule

of faith by which to test and distinguish the Divine Light as manifested by the Spirit to individuals, yet they had local, monthly, and yearly meetings, which acted as an ultimate earthly authority.

The early Quakers rendered great service to religion in Wales, for they emphasized the truth of Divine Immanence. But when they endeavoured to explain it in the terms of the dualism which their generation had inherited from the past, they did not succeed so well. They marked the division between the natural and the spiritual, human and divine, and refused to identify the Light of the Spirit with the natural conscience of man, but never explained satisfactorily the relation between the Light and the natural conscience. Although we may criticize the adherence of Quakerism to traditional dualism which was inconsistent with the Divine Immanence it preached, nevertheless, we cannot forget its service in making the Divine Light synonymous with Christ. It made the Spirit the witness to Scripture, and Scripture the judge between different findings of the Spirit in individuals. It failed to think of the Divine Immanence "in the mind of man as man, and in all truth as truth" with any consistency.

Its emphasis upon spirituality deserves special consideration. The spirit of Christianity was revived by Quakerism, and, in spite of the rudeness of some, the patient, gentle, and charitable spirit was cultivated and manifested in the most trying conditions. The discovery of George Fox that religion is spiritual, needs republication, for in the realm of spirit alone does man find infinite liberty. The physical has its bounds, and the mental. If we attempt to pass beyond these set bounds, we collapse. The spiritual, however, knows no limit even in this life, for man may develop his spirit illimitably in charity, forgiveness, truth, and goodness. George Fox opened the eyes of thousands who had been blinded by tradition and prejudice. Religion was not to be professed but possessed. Self denial and not self assertion was the way to acquire personality. The self-centred professor of religion was regarded as the plague of the Church of Christ. This accounts for the hateful persecution meted out to faithful Quakers. The motive was disinterested, but the method was sometimes offensive. A malignant disease required a sharp medicine.

Francis Gawler in his address to the "Reader" declares that his "Record of some sufferings in South Wales (1659)" was not done hastily, or published with any evil intent against the hiring ministers and magistrates, but that the "actings they have acted in their rage and heat of their

spirits, which is condemned by the Light," may be read over of them "in the cool of their spirits," and that being thus warned they may mend their evil ways. It was an age of polemic bitterness, and even the noblest souls were not wholly free from its corroding influence; nevertheless, we wonder, not that men like Gawler and other Quakers were sometimes affected by the spirit of the times, but that they were not more bitter considering their provocations. Fox himself was subject to this fault of his age, but his nobler qualities of courage, conscientiousness, selflessness, and loyalty to his ideal, render the defect inconspicuous.

The revival of original Christianity—the best description of the Quaker movement—found willing followers. Assent to stated truths had been sought for many years, but such assent brought no peace of mind or blessedness. Direct access to God without the intervention of priest or ordinance was a revelation which the people gladly received. All classes were convinced of the reality of the truth, and many of them at their own charges went forth to turn sinners from the error of their way unto the living God. Change of heart was emphasized and not doctrine. The well-to-do accepted the new gospel with marvellous results. George Fox was the only preacher for the space of four years; but in 1657, the year he visited Wales, there were many enthusiastic heralds in the Principality.

Between 1650–89 over fourteen thousand Quakers suffered through fines and imprisonment in Great Britain, hundreds of whom were resident in Wales. The courtly William Penn, the scholarly Thomas Lloyd, and a host of distinguished Welsh people languished in prisons, confined in cells not fit for dogs. All these were the champions of the inalienable rights of conscience, free speech, and free worship. If Puritans were exacting in their discipline, Quakers were more exacting. They were even ascetic in their demands; but all was self-imposed. There could be no compulsion, except the compulsion of love. Persecuted as the Quakers were in Wales, they never persecuted in return. They did not treat the persecuting Puritan as Adonibezec of old was treated. Retaliation was forbidden by their own enlightened conscience and renewed spirit. If their temptations to avenge were disregarded, they were disregarded because of their endowment from on high. If their discipline was more than Spartan, the nobility of character produced was marvellous. The influence of Quakerism is felt in Wales even to-day. Other sects have been far more numerous, but no sect has ever exercised a holier influence upon the life of the community. Their Christianity not only saved their souls, but their



circumstances also. In a few generations they had no poor. Material prosperity has followed the Quakers in an amazing manner, as if to prove to the world that where the right principles of conduct are found, success must follow in their train. Out of affliction came such fibre and sinew and soul, that obstacles were laughed at and converted into stepping stones to unheard-of achievements.

The first Quakers in Wales suffered the loss of earthly goods in such a cruel way that we blush to think of the "insatiable cormorants" who fed upon their estates. Many of the valiant sufferers began with plenty, but after a few years' affliction with the people of God ended in poverty.

Coleridge once said: "We need celestial observations whenever we attempt to mark terrestrial charts." The early Welsh Quakers had their celestial observations, not idle dreams and reveries, but observations which embraced practice, efficiency, and the right use of the world. Their other—worldliness did not exclude worldly and temporal affairs. They painted their sky first, hence the picture of their life had symmetry and correct perspective. Their chief distinction lay in the use they made of spiritual terms. If they objected to scholastic terms and man-made symbols, it was in order that the word of the Spirit might have a free course. The "seed" of the Spirit is reproductive. A pearl remains a pearl, and a diamond, a diamond, but the seed germinates, and recreates itself. Conscious of the importance of the Spirit, and of judging everything by the standard of the Spirit, the Quakers decided, not by a majority of votes, but by the weight of Spirit on a subject. The system on its spiritual side was ideal, and tended to make ideal people. The programme of Quakerism was gladly accepted by hosts of Welsh Puritans, who had been partly prepared for it by what we might call negative teaching. Professors of religion were weary of negatives, for they contained no nutriment for the soul. Logomachies led nowhere except into the barren wastes of logic-chopping and contention. Quakerism offered a positive programme, and expectant souls adopted it without regard to the woeful consequences. "The dawn hath broken, and the Sun hath arisen, the birds are singing: Awake, O Welshmen, awake," cried Morgan Llwyd.

Reviewing this charter of the free soul, we note that it contained equal rights for men and women, a testimony against war, slavery, intemperance, oaths, extravagance in drees and life, vain display, amusements, corrupt literature, music, and art. People of refined tastes accepted all this in order to preserve true religion. Such a sacrifice was necessary in that age. To-day, man may be a Quaker without sacrificing

all this, for Quakerism is a spirit and not a formula. In this programme also were reforms—reforms of prison laws, care of the weaker races of mankind, and of the insane. All these ameliorations and more were involved in the gospel of the first Quakers, and have since evolved in the form of laws and public opinion. Those who received a call from God could preach—men and women—irrespective of age or social position. Tutored by the Spirit, the unlettered could speak freely what God communicated to his soul. Worship and ministry were cardinal truths, and upon these the success of the movement rested. A sense of personal duty was acquired by the promptings of the Holy Spirit. Self examination, reflective meditation, and hopeful expectation, resulted in blessed fruit-bearing in the great vineyard of Christ. Infallibility or plenary inspiration was not claimed, for the treasure was borne in earthly vessels; yet the remarkable instances of spiritual insight and judgment, which characterised some of the pronouncements made by certain Welsh Quakers, prove that God was speaking through them. Liberality became a proverb, because it was left to the spontaneity of Christian love.

How truly magnificent and extraordinary the deliberation, patience, and prudence, of the early Welsh Quakers. They had advanced to the utmost bounds of enthusiasm, and heresy [according to their critics], and yet they appeared deliberate and prudent. Instead of being sullen or gloomy, as one might expect them to be on account of their prohibitions, they were remarkably cheerful. They had found salvation and manifested their joy. While the Puritans might pray: "Restore to us the joy of Thy salvation." The Quakers never lost the joy. Once the joy was lost the heritage vanished. The joy of the Lord was their strength. The seed contained all Christian graces. Evolution implies involution. Christ compared the Kingdom of Heaven—the greatest thing in the world to a speck of mustard seed—the smallest thing in the world. Quakerism at the beginning was like a grain of mustard seed compared with other sects, but it contained the principle of life, of universal expansion. The tiny seed took root in the hearts of men and women, it grew into a tree with outspreading branches, and peace, liberty, commerce, social reform, built their nests among its branches. Quakerism took life at the centre of motive and love, and not on the circumference of creed and profession.

George Fox recognized that a life of holiness solves all problems. Opponents criticized his theory of perfection, but he was near the mark, for perfection tolerates no lust of the flesh or spirit. Lust is the root of war, cruelty, injustice,

and a host of woes. The Kingdom of Heaven cannot be comprehended by the greatest intellect, but the least may take hold of it by the end of the seed-grain, the end nearest to him.

Take for example Fox's testimony against war in the year 1650, when soldiers would have him to become their captain at Worcester battle. The post was offered to him because of his virtue and manly qualities. "*But I told them I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars* : and I knew from whence all wars did rise, from the lust, according to James' doctrine. . . . I was come into the covenant of peace which was before wars and strifes." For refusing the post he was cast into a dungeon among thirty felons, in a lousy, stinking place, without a bed, where he was kept for nearly six months. Lovers of peace support their arguments to-day, by social, political, and economic reasons, unknown to Fox, but they cannot go beyond him in intuition. He lived in that virtue which took away the occasion of all wars. Like the mystic, he arrived at conclusions without going through the process of reasoning.

In *Social England* (Vol. IV., p. 257), the author states that the views of Caspar Schwenkfeld, a nobleman of Silesia, who lived two hundred years before George Fox, were in the air when Quakerism was born. Schwenkfeld believed and "*propounded doctrines identical with those of the Quakers on the Inward Light, on immediate revelation, on the direct communication between God and the soul,*" Sacraments, and so forth. The followers of Schwenkfeld were driven out of Silesia in 1547, and his views spread by this persecution in the Waterlander Mennonite Church of Amsterdam, and later came over to England, before the days of George Fox. Whether the founder of Quakerism adopted the views of the Mennonites or not, is debatable. If he did, his fine personality gave them "*a wider habitation in English life.*" His revelation was direct, and his pronouncements were not mere repetitions. If he borrowed, like Shakespeare, all his creations bore the mark of his own strong individuality. During five and twenty years he spent six in loathsome dungeons, but the enthusiasm of his own personal vision never abated. His periods of enforced silence in Midian, revealed the heights of God and the burning bush, and he emerged clad with power and zeal.

Morgan Llwyd, the most spiritual Welshman of his age, was, up to a certain point, a Quaker. His preaching prepared the soil for the seed of Truth, as proclaimed by Fox and his followers. Llwyd was far from being an orthodox Puritan. When priest at Wrexham Church, he refused to accept tithes.



He advocated free communion, outward baptism was not vital. "There is a baptism of sorrow," said he, "that is persecution. The Baptism of Christ is the one great Baptism, and that is the heavenly water in the second birth." Liberty was his great watchword: "reason and conscience are the eyes of man" in the domain of truth. The mysticism of George Fox appealed powerfully to Llwyd, the greatest of Welsh mystics; consequently, we are not surprised that he sent two "triers" from his Church to George Fox, at Swarthmore, in Lancashire, to test his doctrine.

The first reference to Quakers in Welsh appeared in Morgan Llwyd's classic: *Llyfr y tri Aderyn*, (The Book of the three Birds), which was published in 1653—The three Birds, a mystery for some to understand, and others to deride, being a discourse between the Eagle, the Dove, and the Raven. According to popular opinion in Wales, the Eagle represented Cromwell; the Dove, the Puritans; and the Raven, the Cavaliers. The Dove, in our opinion, expounds the religious views of Llwyd himself. The Raven, after flying abroad, reports that he had seen the Pope the other day, in Rome, "quaking in his chair." The *Eagle* asked: "Is he among the Quakers? Why does he quake?" The *Raven* answered: "Certain prophecies are terrifying him."

Morgan Llwyd, as early as 1646, preached that a barn was as holy as a church. Edwards, in his *Gangraena*, supplies an interesting account of him as army chaplain in that year. "One Floid, newly come to be a preacher to the troop of Major Huntingdon's, that now quarters at Aston Roweant, preached in that church 14 June, 1646, on John xx. 17, and from these words collected three transcendent points: 1. That laymen, weavers, tinkers, and cobblers, being gifted, may preach; 2. That learning was not by any means necessary to understand the meaning of the Scripture. 3. That any chamber, barn, or stable, or other place, was as holy as the church." (Pt. III., p. 62).

Llwyd was friendly with Giles Calvert, London, who published some of Jacob Behmen's works, for we read that he "did lie at Master Calvert's, the bookseller, at Ludgate Hill." Calvert afterwards printed several Quaker works for the publishers of truth, when they decided to make use of the Press. Touching the mysticism of Morgan Llwyd, we may mention here his tract: "A word from the Word." (*Gair o'r Gair*), or a talk about the voice of the Eternal Speaker, "which contains passages of rare spiritual penetration. The portion which begins, "The word of God is a mystery," etc., shews a remarkable kinship with Fox; also, "I call this word the first language," etc.

His letters to Richard Baxter (1656) reveal how he sympathized with Quakerism. "One cause," he wrote, "of our Babylonish contention is the want of right apprehension of the Godhead in His Christ and Spirit. Neither shall man agree in God till the fleshly mind that perks up in man's mind, to judge of God's mind, be mortified. And in that the Quakers say well, as I think." Furthermore, he tells Baxter, "Substance is every spirit, and the seen world is but a shadow of the unseen which pervades it; and the body also is but a shadow, and like as the clothes horse of the Spirit, or the sheath of the sword which shall endure for ever." He believed that "God and the soul," as Browning puts it, "stand sure."

William Erbury, his father in the faith of Divine Immanence, exercised a great influence over Llwyd's mind, as did Walter Cradock. Three of his letters to William Erbury are preserved in the "Testimony of William Erbury." In one of his letters he refers to him as "my once dear Schoolmaster, Erbury." Erbury's views on the ministry and ordinances closely resembled those of George Fox. His daughter, Dorcas Erbury, was reported to have been raised from the dead by James Nayler. She was imprisoned in Cardiff in 1659. At Exeter gaol she knelt with other women and kissed Nayler's feet.

Quakers were hovering about Wrexham during the latter portion of 1653. John Lawson, of Lancaster, and Richard Hubberthorne, attended a church meeting at Wrexham, where their zeal outran their charity. The two Quakers judged the Wrexham church severely; the so-called saints lived in pride, envy, and covetousness. Hubberthorne did not spare the gentle minister, Morgan Llwyd, who "sat sobbing" under the condemnation laid upon him. The visitors failed to appreciate Llwyd's freedom from routine and conventionality, and his openness of mind. They perceived not the worth of the great Welsh mystic. In a letter to his mother Llwyd confessed that a great part of the truth was with the Quakers.

So numerous were the separations which prevailed in Wales during the Puritan period, 1649—1660, that the ordinary man knew not what to believe or do. Controversies about points of doctrine and procedure served only to mystify the masses. Public debates frequently ended in personalities. William Erbury, in a public discussion at Llantrisant, condemned his opponent David Davies, a Baptist, to the fire. At Abergavenny, in the debate between John Tombes and John Cragge, quotations from Ambrose of Milan were not very illuminating before an audience who could no more

"pry into them than a bat into the third heaven." The age was full of confusion and bitterness. Independents were antagonistic to Presbyterians on account of their over-bearing behaviour. "When Wales was Roman Catholic," they said "it had one Pope in Rome, but with Presbyterianism there is a pope in every parish." Men who were charitable enough to the poor were uncharitable in their sectarian views. Vavasor Powell said that he had room in his house for twelve to sleep in beds, and room for a hundred in his barn, and a thousand in his heart. But he had no room for Quaker ideas.

The riddles of Erbury and the prophecies about the end of the world were most bewildering to the people. Certain preachers like Morgan Llwyd desired spiritual union. Nevertheless, the sects seemed to be drifting farther apart. Into this chaotic state came the first Quakers, and we wonder not at their success, for they had positive, simple truths to offer to thousands who were weary of sectarian catch-words, and dying of hunger. Life acquired a new meaning and importance, and introspection, not morbid or gloomy, added glory to the sanctities of daily life. The streams of life were sweetened at the source, and the first heralds of the new religion went everywhere preaching glad tidings. They suffered much through conflict with man-made laws and man-made ministry, but their enthusiasm remained unabated and contagious. They recovered the joy of salvation, and desired all to share in their joy, and counted no sacrifice too much to make for the propagation of the gospel of everlasting Truth.

John Myles called the missionary Quakers "railing Rabshakehs," for denouncing tithes and their payment, and wrote in defence of the hireling priest, quoting 1 Cor. ix. 6—11 and 1 Timothy v. 17, 18. To him Quakerism was an "infection of the times." By accepting payment from the State he traversed the principles of the Baptists, who held the view that the Church of Christ was independent of State patronage. Hugh Evans was attacked by the Quakers for receiving State aid, but many Baptist preachers refused such payment.

The vision of disestablishment tarried long in Wales, but at the long last it has been fulfilled, and all who value Free-Churchism must rejoice that the negative term of Nonconformity has become obsolete in the Principality. They must also feel grateful to those brave lovers of religious freedom—the Early Baptists and Quakers—for raising up the standard of Truth and adhering to it so loyally. The lines of modern Wales are fallen in pleasant places, and she has a goodly heritage as the result of past witnessing and suffering.

The Quakers opposed tithes on principle, and their conscientiousness, though at first misconstrued, helped to foster the spirit of voluntary religion. Morgan Llwyd believed not in tithes, and if, wrote one author, it could be proved that George Fox had met him in the earlier part of his public ministry, he would be tempted to attribute to his influence the founder's emphatic denial of tithes. Fox, when leader of the Nottinghamshire "Children of Light," convinced the separatist section of the Baptist Community in Nottingham and district, who had lost their spirituality, and who played shovel-board on Sundays. Certain beliefs of these Baptists undoubtedly affected George Fox, and probably his strong views on tithes were inherited from them. Rice Jones, the leader of these Separatists, joined the "Children of Light" for a time, but withdrew because Quakers declared Truth in markets and churches. His followers became the greatest football players and wrestlers in the county. However, they contributed something to Fox's Nonconformist principles. Fox records in his *Journal* an argument which he had with Jones, a soldier of Nottingham, on his way to the "Worcester fight" in 1650. Jones had peculiar views, for he believed that while he could keep the inward unto God, the body could comply with the external. Although the Quakers had so much in common with Baptists, Fox and his early followers disliked the sect more than any other. "Jangling Baptists" caused him much trouble and disturbance of mind.—*Journal*, vol. II., p. 24.

Two Welsh Royalists, bards of the period, Huw Morris and Edward Morris, were bitterly opposed to Quakers. Huw Morris, Pont-y-Meibion (1622—1709), a staunch churchman, complained that cobblers, carpenters, and blacksmiths were allowed to enter into the pulpit and preach. The Puritan, said he, who was yesterday an Independent, is to-day Anabaptist, and to-morrow a Quaker, saying neither "good morrow," nor "good evening." His prejudice against women preachers was intense. Their claim to prophesying he could not tolerate. He was sorely tried, for Quakers were numerous in the neighbourhood of Dolobran and Llansilin. In one poem he complains of the new marriage custom introduced during the Commonwealth. Instead of the banns being proclaimed at church by the priest, they were cried in the open at the cross on three successive market days by a public crier. In the meantime the contracting couple were not to see or speak to each other under a heavy fine. The marriage was solemnized before a Justice of the Peace and a lawyer. The simple Quaker ceremony in comparison with this procedure was charming and attractive to many, but not to



Huw Morris, for he decided not to marry until the old custom was restored. He invited all the maids in the land to join him in sending a petition to Parliament that the method be immediately changed. Huw Morris was a fine poet, well versed in Holy Writ. He castigated Cromwell under a pseudonym, but the Quakers he belaboured without disguise, for the Puritans themselves did the same thing. After the Restoration he introduced Vavasor Powell and others into his poems by name, but before the Restoration he cursed the Reformers under a bush, and called Vavasor Powell, Morgan Llwyd, and Cromwell, traitors.

Edward Morris, a cattle dealer living between Pentre Foelas and Cerrig-y-Druiddion, in his poem, *Y Cymry diddanol* (The happy Welsh), directed against Quakers, exhorted his fellow countrymen not to trust everyone who boasts of the Inward Light: "And to confuse matters women go about teaching, setting wiser men aside. Do not go to their meetings though popular. To forsake the Church of England and turn Quaker is not the way to become better." In 1673 he wrote a Carol on Quakers, and in one carol the singers stated in verse that they would not sing outside a Quaker's residence. Edward Morris believed that Quakers were deluded, and excommunicated them because they rejected the Sacraments. Although opposed to the new sect, calling them deceivers, he did not mock at them.

Edward Dafydd, a bard of Glamorgan, in his "Song of the Fanatics," reveals the opposition of the Traditional School to every form of the New Religion

The following, by a Cavalier balladist, shews the attitude of those in power towards the Quakers and the other Non-conformist sects in 1662 :—

" You Quakers and you dippers,  
Your wicked deeds all rue ;  
With speed return and go to church  
And leave that factious crew.  
Now all you sects and schismatics,  
This lecture read and view,  
Fear God, and honour Charles our King,  
Or Tyburn is your due."

During our searches we noticed in one of the issues of the *Friends Historical Journal* a query by the Rev. T. G. Crippen, librarian at the Memorial Hall, London: " Whether Quakerism succeeded more in those districts in Wales where Lollardism had been preached ? " After some investigation we are able to answer in the affirmative. Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham afterwards) and Walter Brute had a great following in Gwent, or Monmouthshire, and the borders of Hereford-

shire. John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster, was a great supporter of the reformer John Wiclif, and his favourite castle was at Grosmont, in Gwent. Nicholas of Hereford, Doctor of Divinity, was Wiclif's great helper in his Bible translation and other works. The large number of Quakers at Shirenewton, Dinham, Caldicot, Wilwick, and Llanwern, testify that the seed of the Lollards bore fruit in the days of George Fox. Furthermore Lord Cobham, who was in hiding in Wales, was caught by Lord Powys near Welshpool, and taken to the Tower of London, where he was martyred as a heretic in the reign of Henry V. There also the Quaker religion prospered exceedingly. The Broniarth lordship, which was transferred to the family of Aber Tanad in the reign of Henry, has a meadow still known as "the garden of Lord Cobham."

"The sorry sect of Lollardry," as it was called by the enemy, was not turned to confusion by the martyrdom of Oldcastle. It was only driven underground, but never died out. Signs of vigorous life are met with during the century which followed. It broke out in England and Scotland, and one martyr in Buckinghamshire in 1518 declared that he believed he had converted seven hundred persons in the course of his life. Forty-seven Lollards were martyred between 1401—1532, some of whom were of Welsh origin. The Lollards taught that man could preach without the authority of the See of Rome; also that Friars were bound to get their living by labour and not mendicancy. "The Creed of Piers the Ploughman" shews how Walter Brute was cursed by the priest for preaching out of Scripture, and denying that Jesus Christ lived by begging, and that transubstantiation was useless, and calling the Pope anti-Christ, (*ll.* 1300—1332.) From this district where Lollardry had flourished came William Tyndale, the translator of the New Testament. If unlettered and poor, the Lollards kept a true faith clearly burning through the long dark night which preceded the Reformation. In the poem just mentioned, the man seeking truth was repelled by the pride and vice of the four Mendicant Orders, and found evangelical truth with a ploughman. The ashes of Wiclif, which were cast into the little river Swift, that passes Lutterworth, conveyed them as Thomas Fuller said, "into the Avon, Avon into the Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they to the main ocean, and thus the ashes of Wiclif are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."

Much of Wiclif's teaching was common to the first Quakers in Gwent and other parts of the country. Manslaughter, by war or pretended law of justice was contrary to the New

Testament. The multitudes of unnecessary acts practised in the country nourished much sin in waste, luxury, and showy apparel, etc. Walter Brute before John Gilbert, Bishop of Hereford in 1391-2, shewed how Wiclif's main doctrines were upheld—the supremacy of Scripture—the Headship of Christ in His Church—and the figurative character of the Lord's Supper. Walter Brute was zealous and mystical, due perhaps to his nationality, for he confessed: "I am a Christian of the Britons, having my origin from the Britons, both by my father's and mother's side."

Another great religious teacher in Herefordshire and Gwent was John of Kentchurch (1360—1430), a Doctor of Divinity. He also was a forerunner of the Reformation. In view of these historical facts, none can deny that Lollardism prepared the soil for Quakerism in some Welsh districts. The Lollard's prayer was answered, "We poor men pray Thee that Thou wilt send us shepherds of Thine own that will feed Thy flock in Thy pasture, and go themselves before them. . . . . And Lord give us, Thy poor sheep, patience and strength to suffer for Thy law, the cruelty of the mischievous wolves."

## II.

**The First Publishers of Truth in Wales.**

THE first Publishers of Truth in Wales were a remarkable band of consecrated ministers. The life-story of each one is an epic of religious adventure. Their courage and stedfastness stagger us. Quakerism created heroes everywhere, and the Church of Christ in Wales, of every denomination, may well be proud of the first Welsh heroes of the Quaker faith, for their aim was Christ-likeness. They adorned the paths of righteousness, despite the eccentricities and extravagances of certain emotional converts.

John ap John (d. 1697), an elder of the Independent Church at Wrexham, became the great apostle of Quakerism in Wales. His minister, Morgan Llwyd, sent him and another to "try" George Fox at Swarthmore, Lancashire, in 1653. This important commission shews what Llwyd thought of his judgment and spirituality. Both messengers were convinced of the Truth, but one did not persevere in the Quaker faith. "John ap John," writes George Fox in his Journal, "abode in the truth and received a part in the ministry, in which he continued faithful." The teaching of Llwyd had undoubtedly prepared the soil for the seed of the New Truth. Like his minister he believed not in tithes, and had the courage to refuse payment the year he was convinced, and was threatened "with pikyls and other woes" for objecting to pay. John ap John was a great personality, and exercised an amazing influence over his fellow countrymen as the convincements which followed his ministrations testify. The torch of Truth was borne by him throughout Wales, and hundreds who sat in darkness saw a great light. His doctrine came with the emphasis of personal experience. It was not merely theoretical but practical. The crowds which attended his services prove not only novelty of teaching, but spiritual charm. Quaker contemporaries refer to him in terms of profound affection.

John ap John, son of John ap John, was a native of Ruabon parish, and lived before his marriage at Pen-y-cefn, Coed Cristionydd.<sup>1</sup> It has been stated that he was a native of

<sup>1</sup> Rev. T. Shankland, M.A., *Cymru*, 1919, pp. 177—183: "Who were John ap John and Catherine, his wife?"



Chirk parish, and was born at Dinhenlle Isaf, also Plas Efa, but we believe the Rev. Thomas Shankland, M.A., has proved beyond a doubt that his home was at Pen-y-cefn, and that under that roof-tree Quakerism began in Wales. Catherine Edwards, his wife, was the widow of David ap Edward, Plas Efa, or "Efan," Trevor. She married John ap John for her second husband sometime between May and October, 1663, when he settled at Plas Efa, which his wife acquired after the death of her first husband. Here John ap John resided till Richard Davies, Rhuddallt, the son of Catherine ap John by David ap Edward, married Anne Barnes of Warrington in 1680. On the coming of age of Richard Davies the estates of Plas Efa, Trevor, and Rhuddallt were joined together. John ap John and his wife then removed from Plas Efa to Pen-y-cefn, Coed Cristionydd, his paternal home. His travels and sufferings were many. It is generally believed that his first imprisonment took place at Cardiff in 1655 for disturbing a preacher at Swansea.

1654? Thomas Holme, however, in his letter to George Fox from Cardiff in 1654, states that John ap John was a prisoner there at that time. Norris in his *John ap John*,<sup>1</sup> etc., doubts this date, adding that it was affixed by George Fox, who sometimes mistook dates. But internal evidence points to 1654, for the epistle was to let Fox know "of my journey and sarves in Wals," and Holme was sent into Wales in that year.

Richard Davies, Welshpool, also states: "At Cardiff, John ap John suffered great persecution and in other parts of that country, before I was convinced; I suppose he might be prisoner there in 1653 or 1654."<sup>2</sup>

The first record by Besse is 1655, but these other authorities must not be set aside.

Elisha Beadles, of Pontypool, in his account of sufferings in South Wales, affirms that John ap John was the first to preach the Truth in the County of Monmouth, and for going into the Steeplehouse at Usk was imprisoned, but Beadles' grandfather, Walter Jenkins, a justice, secured his liberty, being in conviction by him. In 1655 Walter Jenkins and Peter Price, both justices of the peace, were present at Fox's meeting at Whetstone.<sup>3</sup> This must have been after the first imprisonment of John ap John.

<sup>1</sup> *John ap John and early records of Friends in Wales*, compiled by William Gregory Norris, and edited by Mr. Norman Penney. *Journal Supplement*, No. 6, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *An account of conviction, exercises, services, and travels, of that ancient servant of the Lord, Richard Davies*. 5th Edition, 1794, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> *First Publishers of the Truth*, p. 322, and note 2.

1655. On the same authority we are informed that John ap John was the first pioneer of Quakerism in Glamorgan-shire, "whose service hath been very effectual to the convincement of many." On the 8th of October, 1655, he was committed by Robert Dawkins of Swansea to Cardiff gaol for behaving "contrary to the laws," and refusing security for appearance at the next great sessions.

1657. John ap John met George Fox at Brecon and accompanied him on his tour through Wales. Richard Davies, Welshpool, heard him at Shrewsbury about Christmas this year. The first Quaker for Davies to hear preach in a meeting. He spoke as one having authority, "his words were so sound and piercing." (*Auto. of R. D.*, p. 27, 5th edition.)

1658. For preaching in Swansea he was imprisoned for twenty weeks. He was taken from a meeting at Cardiff, but was released after a few days.

1660. One of the forty-one Quakers in Cardiff gaol.<sup>1</sup>

1661. John ap John was not one of the ten Quakers who met in their own hired house in Wrexham as some authorities declare. Besse gives their names.<sup>2</sup>

1663. Thomas Holme, in a letter to George Fox, refers to the betrothal of John Jones (John ap John) and Catherine Edwards.<sup>3</sup>

1665. His daughter Phoebe was born.

1667. John ap John and three others were brought before the Sessions at Ruthin, and are designated "Quakers."<sup>4</sup>

1668. John ap John and James Adamson visited Cloddiau Cochion, where the Welshpool magistrates broke up the meeting, and took the leading Quakers prisoners. Richard Davies effected the release of John ap John by arrangement with the officer, and after a short stay John ap John went home.<sup>5</sup>

John ap John and Richard Davies had a meeting at Bromyard, a market town in Herefordshire, in 1668, in the house of William Perkins, a tanner, where several Friends from Leominster and a great number of rude people gathered. A man named Wilder, who intended to be an informer, was particularly noticed. Not long after he died. The meeting ended peaceably, for the Lord's power was over all.<sup>6</sup>

George Fox records that John ap John was with him at Shipton this year.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fuller account given under sufferings.

<sup>2</sup> See Wrexham in this work.

<sup>3</sup> *John ap John*, supplement 6, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> *John ap John*, supplement 6, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Autobiography of R. Davies*, p. 106, 5th edition.

<sup>6</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 121.

<sup>7</sup> *Journal Cambridge Press*, vol. II., p. 121.

1669. "My well-beloved and dear companion, John ap John<sup>1</sup> and I," writes Richard Davies, "took our journey for South Wales to visit our Friends and brethren in those parts." Both languages were used, John ap John preached in Welsh and Davies in English. John ap John, although not perfect in English, "had the tongue of the learned to such who were spiritual." Ample notice was given beforehand of the meetings appointed. At the lower end of Radnorshire several came from Herefordshire, where the meeting was sweet, living, and powerful. Roger Prichard, the stray sheep, came to them in Radnorshire, and accompanied them through that county and Monmouthshire, whence Prichard returned home, being deeply grateful that, if he had "come out of his way," the ministers had "put him in his right way again." Passing through the County of Monmouth, visiting Friends, they came to Glamorgan, and had good meetings at Scilly<sup>2</sup> and Swansea. At Swansea they met some French Bretons, whose language they could understand somewhat. Thence they passed into Carmarthenshire, then back to Cardiff, where they were lodged by John and Elizabeth Mayo. This good woman is described "as a nursing mother to Friends in the beginning." From Cardiff they went to Pembrokeshire, where they had several good meetings, "for the Lord was with us." On their homeward journey they appointed a meeting at Roger Prichard's house, a glover by trade, of Woolton, in the parish of Almeley, Herefordshire, where divers were convinced.<sup>3</sup>

1670. John ap John, for holding a Conventicle at his house on the 12th June, was fined with those present £20 15s. in all. The informer was John Robinson, a justice of the peace, Gwersyllt, near Wrexham.<sup>4</sup>

1672. Norris, in his work on John ap John,<sup>5</sup> includes the Welsh Quaker's meditation before sunset on 21. v. 1673. The recollection is fragrant. Modernized, it reads, "This time twenty years ago was the time that I, John ap John, was at Swart More, with George Fox, in Lancashire. It was the first time that I saw George Fox. Now in this twenty years I have received much and done but little; and it was Thee, O Lord, that was my upholder all the twenty years. I never lost the feeling of Thy power since then in Swart More. I received it and felt it; and I believe I never shall lose it if I wait for it and fear Thee, and if Thy fear be before my eye.

<sup>1</sup> *Autobiography of R. D.*, pp. 108—110. 5th edition, 1794.

<sup>2</sup> This must be intended for Sully, near Barry. Thomas Holme refers to this place "about 6 miles beyond Cardiff."

<sup>3</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Besse.

<sup>5</sup> *John ap John*, Supplement 6, pp. 5, 6.

This fear will keep me from offending against Thee, the God of my life."

John ap John journeyed "toward the sunrising" during his whole pilgrimage, and the passage just quoted has no trace of sadness or doubt. Like all great souls he was unconscious of his gift and gave the glory to God.

1674. Mordecai Moore, son of Richard Moore<sup>1</sup> of Shrewsbury, a companion of George Fox and Richard Davies in certain parts of Wales, was left fatherless in 1688. The Quarterly Meeting of Merionethshire desired to apprentice him to a surgeon (chirurgeon-barber as the profession was then called), Thomas Wynne of Caerwys, to whom he was apprenticed for seven years. The young man was sent from Shrewsbury to John ap John to be helped forward on his way. Richard Moore, the father, a practitioner of physic, had trained Thomas Wynne for the profession,<sup>2</sup> and had introduced him to two notable surgeons who recognized the ability of the Flintshire man. This year Ellis Pugh was convinced under the ministry of John ap John.

1675. John ap John accompanied John Burnyeat on his tour through Wales about this time. They visited Merionethshire, Pembrokeshire, Monmouthshire, and other counties. In Monmouthshire they separated—Burnyeat went to Bristol and John ap John returned home.<sup>3</sup>

1676. These two companions visited Dolobrân Quarterly Meeting, and proceeded through Merionethshire into Pembrokeshire, and thence into Monmouthshire, where they parted at the Ferry. Burnyeat's horse was seized at Machynlleth<sup>4</sup> in 1677.

1681. John ap John was present at the Half-yearly Meeting at Swansea,<sup>5</sup> held on the 27, 7, 1681, when it was decided to hold a Yearly Meeting for Wales at Haverfordwest (Redstone) the second day of the week, called Easter Week (1682). John ap John had a testimony at the Swansea meeting, also Edward Edwards, W. Players, Francis Lea, Philip Leonard, Richard Walter, and others. The meeting continued for three days, and was attended by Friends from all parts of Wales.

1682. John ap John, and Thomas Wynne of Caerwys, bought of William Penn, in 1681, 5000 acres of land in Pennsylvania for £100. In July, 1682, John ap John sold 500

<sup>1</sup> *John ap John*, Supplement 6, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania*, by T. A. Glenn, Vol. I., p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> *The writings of John Burnyeat*, under date of 1675. Also *John ap John*, Supplement 6, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Davies's *Autobiography*, p. 129.

<sup>5</sup> Letter of Thomas Ellis to Richard Davies—*Autobiography of R. D.*, p. 135, edited 1794.



acres to his Friend, John Roberts, miller, of Penyclawdd, and the deed, dated 5th July, bears his name as "John ap John of Ruabon Parish, yeoman." John ap John was an enthusiastic supporter of Penn's enterprise, and succeeded in getting many Welsh Quakers to emigrate to the new province. He carried on his ministry in Wales faithfully, although the number of Friends was greatly diminished.

1684. In all probability John ap John was present at the funeral of Robert Mellor, of Whitehough, in Staffordshire, when he took part. The magistrates fined him and two others £20 each, but "the hearts of divers people rose against" the informers, and some of the magistrates declined to exact the penalty.

1685. He was present at Garthgynfor Yearly Meeting with Roger ap John and Richard Davies, Rhuddallt.

1689. Phoebe his daughter was married on the 8th, 3, 1689, at Rhuddallt, to John Mellor of Whitehough Manor House, near Leek, in Staffordshire. The same year he attended the Yearly Meeting at William Aubrey's house in Breconshire.

1692. John ap John was present at the Yearly Meeting which was held at Lewis Owen's house, Garthgynfor, near Dolgelley.

1693. The Yearly Meeting was held at his own house, Coed Epionaid (Cristionydd), on the 18th of the first month, which has been described as a "great meeting," with large representations from Denbighshire, Montgomeryshire, and Merionethshire.<sup>1</sup>

1694. John ap John's wife died at Rhuddallt this year on the 9th of the 11th month, and was buried at Trevor.<sup>2</sup>

1695. He attended a meeting at Tregaron with Tryall Rider as representative from Denbighshire.<sup>3</sup>

1697. His death occurred at his son-in-law's house at Whitehough, 16, 9, 1697, and his remains were buried at Basford.<sup>4</sup>

The foregoing list of dates which we have collected from different sources illustrate the chief incidents of his life. There were periods of resting at home no doubt, nevertheless his service was truly remarkable when we consider how difficult it was then to travel. After the first emigrations to Pennsylvania, he endeavoured to convert Carnarvonshire and Anglesey to Quakerism. His favoured field, however, was South Wales, where he had great influence among the better

<sup>1</sup> *John ap John*, Supplement 6, p. 31. *Epistles Received*, Vol. I., 190.

<sup>2</sup> *John ap John*, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *John ap John*, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> *John ap John*, p. 26.

classes. There he suffered most, and there he had the greatest number of convincements. Conscious of his invaluable service to the cause of true religion, the London Yearly Meeting in 1712 and 1713 desired friends in North and South Wales to collect together such memorials, books, and MSS. as they could find relating to him, and to send them to the second day's morning meeting. The request did not seem to produce the desired effect, for we have no record of any returns being made. We perused the two Scripts<sup>1</sup> from his pen, which are preserved at Devonshire House, and could not help reflecting upon the likeness of the caligraphy to that of the Elizabethan Welsh poets, whose works have been published in the Cefn Coch MSS. The handwriting denoted a Welsh scholar more than an English one. "Since the year 1653 my understanding have been opened," etc.

The volume, which was once in his possession, had a fascinating interest—*The West answering to the North*. The book bears his name, "John ap John his booke." Other signatures are "James Lloyd, 1686," and "Mary Sitterton her Book, 1755." This work moves the reader, for it was prepared for the directing of the minds of Cornish people to the way of salvation, and the stirring of them up to prize their time and the day of their visitation. George Fox being on his journey—with Edward Pyot of Bristol and William Salt of London, about the middle of the 11<sup>mo</sup>, 1655—from the farthest parts of Cornwall towards Bristol, was moved by the Lord to send forth this pronouncement. It contains a strong appeal to John Glynn, Chief Justice of England, about the books which had been seized. Fox wrote, "Now our books are our goods, and our goods are our property, and our Liberty is to have and enjoy our property, and of our Liberty and Property the Law is our defence, which saith no free man shall be dis-seized of his Free-hold, Liberties, or Free Customs." Such a striking volume must have roused the righteous soul of John ap John, the fervid and fearless champion of rights.

THOMAS HOLME (1627—1666) and ELIZABETH, his wife (d. 1665), were devoted workers in South Wales. Many convincements attended their preaching of the Everlasting Gospel. When the seventy preachers were sent forth in the early Summer of 1654, Thomas Holme was appointed for Wales. He was a weaver of Kendal, Westmorland, and toiled faithfully in South Wales for upwards of twelve years. Holme suffered many hardships, scoffing, scorning, beating, and imprisonment, also his wife. He married Elizabeth Leavens

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<sup>1</sup> *John ap John*, Supplement 6, pp. 5, 6.

towards the end of 1654. She came to South Wales early in 1656 with Alice Birkett, and her husband followed soon afterward. Cardiff was the chief centre of his activities. In 1656 a child was born, which seemed to put an end to Elizabeth Holme's preaching, but a Cardiff friend took charge of the babe, and thus enabled her to carry on her ministry. Thomas Holme, with six Welsh Friends, crossed the Bristol Channel in June, and visited George Fox, who was then in prison at Launceston.<sup>1</sup> Fox believed that the mother should have returned to her Friends in Kendal, but was agreeable to the arrangement of placing the child in the custody of a Friend as the best possible thing in the circumstances. Elizabeth Holme saw Fox herself after the birth of the child, and continued her work in South Wales.

In 1657 many meetings existed in South Wales, mainly through the efforts of Holme and his wife. Welsh Quakers were affected by Nayler's heresy, and George Fox visited Cardiff in order to prevent, if possible, the adversaries of Thomas Holme from upsetting his good work. In April, 1657, Holme wrote to the effect that most of the Welshmen that ministered had gone out of the Truth and believed a lie. He describes those who were opposed as coming to the meeting, to create confusion by tumbling upon the floor and singing while he was speaking. These deluded Friends sat at meetings in haircloth and ashes.<sup>2</sup>

In 1657 Holme and John ap John met George Fox at Brecon, where they had a great meeting after some tumult. Holme was imprisoned in 1658 at Caerwent (Usk), for speaking in Church. In 1661 he was confined in Cardiff gaol for a considerable time. Holme and his wife were greatly loved, although their zeal was not always according to wisdom. Their lack of judgment frequently brought them before the magistrates. Holme was sent to gaol in Chester in 1655, for going through the street naked, as a sign.

In a letter to Fox, dated Cardiff, 27 day, 12 mo., 1654(?), he furnishes an interesting record of his work in Wales. This bears evidence of being early in his ministry, for he states that it is "to let thee know of my journey and sarves in Wales." He had left Cheshire five weeks before, and had remained for first days in Radnorshire, where many Baptists were convinced. "Many of their Churches are broken in peeses." Some of those convinced were unable to understand Welsh. A Justice of the Peace was convinced, at whose

<sup>1</sup> In June also Holme visited Tenby, Pembroke, and Haverfordwest, then the largest town in Wales, and was greatly blessed.—Braithwaite's *Beginning of Quakerism*, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Braithwaite's *Begs. of Quakerism*, p. 347.

house he stayed five nights. He spoke at a castle to soldiers, some of whom received the message. After spending two first days in Radnorshire he passed into Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, where he had a meeting in the evening, and the following day he spoke in the market-place. In this county he met his wife and Alice Birkett, who were busy in the Lord's work. Two Justices of the Peace were convinced. The following first day he had a meeting four miles from Chepstow, the second and third days at Chepstow, and the fourth day about six miles beyond Cardiff, at the seaside: "wher there is A prety peopell." The morrow he was going to a general meeting at a justice's house in Newport. "John ap Jones remenes presener yeat," he adds as a footnote.

From Swansea, in a letter to Fox, written on 11, 4m., 1663, he refers to visits made to Flintshire and Denbighshire. The meeting in the latter county was held at "Katherine Edwards, which J. Jones (John ap John) is to have." Thence he went to Welshpool and visited the young Friends that were in prison; thence through Radnorshire, Breconshire, and Monmouthshire. The few Friends in Breconshire, about six, were all in gaol.

This enthusiastic Quaker died at the age of thirty-nine, at a Friend's house about three miles from Cardiff, on the 2nd, 8mo. 1666, and was buried two days later at the Friends burial ground, Pontymoil, in the presence of many Quakers. Having appointed a meeting at a Friend's house he insisted on going, although ill at Cardiff. He could not return after the meeting, and died there. The services of this pioneer of Quakerism in Wales cannot be fully described, as records were not carefully kept at the beginning, but what records we have, shew him as an indefatigable worker.

Elizabeth Holme, his wife, suffered in Glamorganshire, Pembrokeshire, and Monmouthshire, as we describe in the section devoted to sufferings. Before her marriage she visited Oxford, 20, 4, 1654, and went into colleges, steeple and tower-houses, preaching repentance, together with Elizabeth Fletcher. The day following they were imprisoned. The Mayor, Thomas Williams, was lenient, but Dr. John Owen (a native of Dolgelley district), Vice-Chancellor of the University, was severe. Owen and two justices ordered that they should be whipped out of town, as vagrants. They were placed in a cage over night, and in the morning were whipped, and sent out of town. Scholars ready to follow the example of the Vice-Chancellor, fell on the two maids, who had spoken to them, and treated them violently, taking them into John's College, and having tied them back to back pumped water on them until they were almost stifled. Elizabeth Leavens,



later, was pushed over a gravestone because she spoke to a priest in a graveyard, and suffered from the hurt while she lived. The behaviour of Dr. Owen toward the two Quaker women preachers illustrates how prejudice may influence a good man. He was a champion of the right of private judgment, and yet could not suffer women to testify against "ungodlikeness" in Oxford. Like many other Independents he believed that women should be silent in the churches. It was the same prejudice which made Dr. Johnson, in a later age, declare against women<sup>1</sup> preachers.

Elizabeth Holme was of the lower rank in the world, but endowed with spiritual gifts and a living testimony, she was diligent, faithful, and zealous, and was successful in her services at Swansea, Haverfordwest, and other places in South Wales. Indignities were heaped upon her, but these only served to increase the number of loyal followers. Morris Bidwel, a priest of Swansea, was a great opposer and persecutor. She bore the marks of Jesus Christ in her body. Died at Kendal on 10th, 7mo., 1665, and left three children.<sup>2</sup>

ALICE BIRKETT was also an indefatigable co-worker and sufferer for the faith in South Wales. Like Elizabeth Holme, she was imprisoned several times at Swansea and Haverfordwest, as we show in the chapter on sufferings. Up to 1660 she seemed to be continuously in the counties of South Wales, and helped to gather together many converts. Thomas Holme refers to her in his letters to George Fox. Together with Elizabeth Holme she visited Shirenewton, Llanvaches, and Newport. The hearers of Henry Walter treated them roughly. At Newport Church Alice Birkett, in 1659, was haled forth and pricked with a pin in her arm by William Williams of that town. At Llandaff churchyard she was beaten with stones in the priest's sight, and her clothes were torn "from about her." In the house of correction the gaoler threatened to set bolts on Alice Birkett and Elizabeth Holme, but did not execute his threat, rather he allowed them to hold meetings in gaol. Adam Hawkins, priest of Haverfordwest, was a cruel persecutor of Friends, especially the two women preachers already named. Alice Birkett was sent to Bridewell from Haverfordwest on one occasion, but she returned thither afterward. Walter Cradock haled her from Christ Church in Monmouthshire and said, "Get thee

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<sup>1</sup> Boswell heard a woman preach at a Quaker meeting on Sunday, July 3, 1763, and informed Dr. Johnson of his experience. "Sir," was his comment, "a woman's preaching is like a dog walking on his hind legs. It is not done well, but you are surprised to find it done at all." Edition 1897, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 260.

behind me Satan." She and Elizabeth Holme encountered Cradock at the funeral of Henry Walter's wife, Newport, when the preacher confessed that he was tormented night and day by the wicked (Quakers). Marmaduke Matthews,<sup>1</sup> priest of Swansea, pinched Alice Birkett till her blood gushed forth. How painful to read that Dr. John Owen, Henry Walter, Walter Cradock, Marmaduke Matthews, and other Puritans caused these women to suffer because of their intense Quakerism. They were made to suffer, however, not for their faith, but for interruptions and lack of respect for Puritan preachers. The provocations were sometimes trying, undoubtedly, but we are surprised that every departure from custom should be complained of and brought into a court of law. The quiet way in which women preachers suffered their punishment reflects in their favour, but against those who persecuted them. These pioneers of women's rights deserve grateful remembrance.

Other Quakers from England who sowed the seed in Wales in the early years were Richard Hubberthorne; James Adamson, who travelled and married in South Wales;<sup>2</sup> John Audland and Thomas Ayrey, who went westward to Bristol "through the edge of Wales"<sup>3</sup> in 1654; Robert Barrow<sup>4</sup> of Kendal; Isaac Alexander<sup>5</sup> of Ravenstonedale; and Alexander Parker,<sup>6</sup> who was convinced by Audland at Holland,<sup>7</sup> Yorks. Parker came to Radnorshire in 1656 to bear testimony "against the priest, Vavasor Powell." He also preached the doctrine of truth as occasion offered. We refer to Whitehead and other itinerants elsewhere.

EDWARD EDWARDS (d. 1706), a native of Denbighshire, rendered magnificent service to Quakerism not only in his own land, but also in parts of England. His conviction took place in 1652, and in 1654 he was a young man living "at Gervase Benson's, near Coatley Cragg, above Sedbergh."<sup>8</sup> George Whitehead and Edwards travelled together in the ministry from Westmorland toward the South. At Captain Bradford's, in Yorkshire, they met George Fox. Elisha Beadles,<sup>9</sup> Pontypool, stated that Edward Edwards visited

<sup>1</sup> *A Record of Some Persecutions . . . in South Wales*, 1659, by Francis Gawler, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> James Adamson was of Wigton, Cumberland, an able Minister. *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 266.

<sup>4</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 261.

<sup>5</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 272.

<sup>6</sup> Sewell's *Hist. of P. called Quakers*, Vol. I., p. 228. Edition 1811.

<sup>7</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 306.

<sup>8</sup> *Christian Progress*, pp. 21, 22, 1654. Account by George Whitehead.

<sup>9</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 323.

the neighbourhood of Cardiff soon after 1655. He was diligent in his service in South Wales up to 1660. John ap John and he were the chief companions of George Fox during his Welsh missionary tour in 1657.<sup>1</sup> Edward Edwards, among other faithful servants of the Lord, "visited Nailsworth,"<sup>2</sup> in Gloucestershire, where he helped to gather a number of Friends. He also ministered at the house of Morgan Watkins<sup>3</sup> at the Grange, Wigmor, near Leominster, and was a blessing to many in those parts. Edward Edwards married Mary Surman of Gloucestershire, where for many years he resided. Both husband and wife were diligent travellers, and sought to propagate the Truth everywhere. Edwards died in 1706, and Mary Edwards in 1715. As a token of Fox's regard, Edwards received a copy of his Journal by bequest. Brief Epistles by Mary Edwards were published in 1720, prefaced by George Whitehead.

FRANCIS GAWLER was a thorn in the flesh to Henry Walter and Walter Cradock. Before his conversion to Quakerism, Gawler was a member of Henry Walter's Church. In 1659<sup>4</sup> he wrote, "Within these few years the Lord God Almighty was pleased to send many of his dear and faithful servants . . . to visit His own seed in South Wales, where were some who had long waited for them, hearing the sound of the Lord's trumpet." "These servants," he continues, "were received with joy and gladness of heart, because the Shout of the King was among them; and the mighty power of God did carry them on in great strength and boldness to fight His own battle with the weapons which are not carnal, but spiritual." Many were cast into prison at the complaint of the hireling priests, who fled to the magistrates before half their sermons were ended. Gawler declares that the magistrates were persuaded by the priests to have a guard set upon the doors of Steeple houses, that none except those with the mark of the beast in their forehead should be admitted. He complains that faithful servants were imprisoned and chained by the legs because they testified against the kingdom of the devil. The hireling preached the gospel in a parish for sixty, eighty, or a hundred pounds a year, more or less, as he could agree. He could preach, fight, strike, and pull by the hair of the head such as declared against him. Any Quaker who denied to pay his wages, though it be but ten pence, is cast into prison.

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<sup>1</sup> *Fox's Journal*.

<sup>2</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide his Record of Some Persecutions*, 1659. We failed to discover the date of his death or burial in the Register at Devonshire House.

Gawler was haled out of Church at Swansea where he stood peaceably, looking at, and listening diligently to Marmaduke Matthews, and was lodged a prisoner in the Town Hall. Such behaviour proves that the sight of a Quaker roused the bitter feelings of Puritans. Whilst on his way to Bristol Gawler turned into the Church at Magor, where Thomas Barnes ministered, and for asking him a question at the close was rushed into an ale-house as prisoner. Barnes and his chief member, Edward Herbert, were responsible for this harsh treatment. At Newport Church he desired to clear his conscience to his old pastor, Henry Walter, but was rushed out of the building at a signal given by Walter. Henry Walter believed Gawler to be bewitched, and feared lest he should bewitch him.

In a discussion which took place at Shirenewton between Edward Edwards, Elizabeth Holmes, and Francis Gawler *versus* John Nicholas, William Bleathin, and Robert Jones, Justices of the Peace, the Quakers scored a triumph to the joy of the hearers. Gawler was particularly ready in debate.

The priests in Cardiff engaged drunkards, swearers, and scolding women to abuse Quakers in the streets, and to guard the door of the Church. Gawler was abused several times by such characters as Anthony Penry, shoemaker, . . . and Guy the Fisher, who had been in arms against the Commonwealth.

Hearing that Joshua Miller, of St. Andrews in Glamorgan, and another had boasted in the postmaster's house, Cardiff, that if any of the Quakers came to their meetings they would dispute publicly with them, Gawler proceeded to Church to take up the challenge, and hundreds of people gathered expecting something lively to happen. When Gawler opened his mouth the priest said, "Go stitch thy hats," and fled before half his sermon was delivered. The magistrates cleared Gawler from blame because of Miller's public boast, which verdict tormented the priest, "and his shame was so great that he endeavoured to clear himself by a book called, *Anti-Christ in the man, the Quaker's Idol*."<sup>1</sup> Because Gawler took up the book and shewed its errors, Miller struck him with his cane, with both hands, in Cardiff.

Benjamin Flower,<sup>2</sup> Cardiff, was most hostile to Gawler. For asking him a question in Church in the presence of the County Judges, Gawler was brought into court on a warrant, and the constables were ordered to remove his hat, but were

<sup>1</sup> Published in 1655-6. *Vide Puritan Movement in Wales*, by T. Richards, M.A., p. 217 (n).

<sup>2</sup> Flower was appointed to the living during the Civil Wars. In 1662 he was one of the few who conformed.



not willing to do it. However, being threatened with a fine, Gawler's Castor or Beaver hat was removed, and the owner never saw again the hat which had cost a great deal of money. He held the lawyer and the bailiff responsible for the loss of his beaver.

Gawler was abused at Llandaff and treated as a vagabond, although before his conviction he had been a commissioned officer in the garrison at Cardiff. He was looked upon by the Puritans as the "distractor of their ministers." Edward Herbert, of Magor, said that he had made this his calling rather than hat-making. Walter Cradock complained that Francis Gawler tormented him, and because he would not promise to desist was imprisoned. On meeting Gawler near Newport one day, Cradock cried, "Get thee behind me Satan, I have hearkened to thee, but now do deny thee, thou dost torment me day and night. I speak not to thee, Gawler, but to the devil in thee." Gawler answered, "I will not hearken to the devil." Then Cradock called him a "flattering devil," and violently struck the beast that Francis rode on. He was on his way to preach at the funeral of Henry Walter's wife at the time. John Gawler, his brother, a justice, became a Quaker.

MEREDITH EDWARDS (1658) was for many years a true Quaker, but later was considered unfit to preach. This judgment of his brethren, however, did not prevent him traveling. Richard Davies met him at an open-air meeting at Redstone, Pembrokeshire, about 1664, where he wearied the multitude, and became a burden, till a Friend stood up and silenced him. After Richard Davies had spoken, and closed the meeting with prayer, Meredith Edwards stood up again and preached, although most of the people departed with Davies. Edwards suffered much on account of his ungoverned temper before magistrates, whom he provoked to passion, as for instance in Haverfordwest, where he was sent to the House of Correction for three months, much to the trouble and annoyance of Quakers.<sup>1</sup>

His sorrows began at Usk gaol<sup>2</sup> in 1658, where he was imprisoned for five weeks for witnessing against Henry Morgan in the Church at Trevening, Monmouthshire. Thomas Jones, who arrested him, was abusive, and struck "him athwart the face," and took him before Henry Baker, a justice at Abergavenny.

At Vaynor, in Breconshire, he was removed from Church, and abused by Jenkin Jones, who accused him falsely.

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<sup>1</sup> *Autobiography of Richard Davies*, 5th Edition, 1794, pp. 91-94.

<sup>2</sup> *A Record of some Persecutions in South Wales*, by Francis Gawler, 1659, pp. 16, 17.

Griffith David had him committed to Bridewell for calling him a thief and hireling, and for denying the Lord's Supper. Robert Thomas, the Justice, before whom he was brought, tried to stop his mouth with a handkerchief, and took him by the throat. Because one of the men in the room endeavoured to hinder the justice, he was also committed to Bridewell. Edwards was released from Bridewell, but the priest, Griffith David, being tormented, had him re-committed on the same warrant, where he was whipped; and were it not for the intervention of Major Golar, a Justice, who had him released, worse things would have happened to him. Edwards was punished for no transgression in Bridewell, but the priest was a notorious sheep-stealer. He was found guilty of marking his neighbour's sheep, but was not punished lest it should bring shame upon the ministry. Evan Morgan, the bailiff of Cowbridge, when visiting Edwards at the Bridewell encountered Henry Nicholls, who struck him twice violently with his cane.

THOMAS ELLIS (d. 1688), before his conviction was an Independent deacon in one of Vavasor Powell's churches, "a man of great esteem among them," according to Richard Davies, "and so he was also afterwards amongst us." He visited his former fellow church members at the house of Davies in Welshpool, who were prisoners for the Truth, when he produced a letter from Vavasor Powell, his minister, wherein the Puritan reformer lamented "the deplorable condition and danger they were in." "The Christians," he wrote, "were in great danger to be split between two rocks, the world and Q., but the worst is Q." (Quakers).<sup>1</sup> Thomas Ellis perceived the decay and formalities of Puritanism as the result of a visit made to their Church some time before by two women, at a service when the Lord's Supper was administered. The Quaker women spoke as they were moved by the Spirit, and the Elders gave them leave, for they opened their mouths in fear and humility. Then the professors went on with the service, and again the women spoke. When ordered to take them out, no one was ready to obey, so Vavasor Powell told Thomas Ellis, "Brother Ellis, take them away." Remembering that Christ was gentle with the woman taken in sin, Ellis was unwilling to take them out till they had delivered themselves. He was appealed to once more to take them away. Ellis rose, and the Friends went with him readily to the next room. His words to the women reveal the quality of his soul. "Friends, you see how we are met together here; we are like the Prodigal who was spending

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<sup>1</sup> *Autobiography of Richard Davies*, 1794, 5th Edition, pp. 63-65.

his portion, and we have a little yet unspent ; and when we have spent all we must return to our Heavenly Father, and come to you and your way." The Lord blessed Thomas Ellis, " and poured his Spirit upon him, and gave him part of the ministry, and he became a faithful labourer and serviceable man among us ; and at length he was made a prisoner here at Welshpool." His convincement seems to have taken place about 1662.

About 1664 Thomas Ellis was taken prisoner with other Quakers at Aberystwyth, and lodged in Cardigan gaol. Richard Davies offered himself to the magistrates of the county as a prisoner instead of his friend and brother Ellis and others, so that they might go home to visit their families. Thomas Ellis lived about 24 miles from Welshpool, not far away from the road to Cardiganshire. When Richard Davies called at his house, Ellis was home, having been discharged from prison. When Davies declared his purpose of visiting Pembrokeshire, Ellis signified his willingness to be his companion. Their first meeting was at Aberystwyth, where Thomas Price, the brother of Sir Richard Price, Gogerddan, took all the Friends prisoners, and cast them into the town prison. That evening the prisoners held a meeting, which was attended by some " persons of account " and others from the town. Richard Davies spoke in Welsh, and it proved " a sweet, comfortable meeting." Davies sent a letter to Sir Richard Price asking that if it was his pleasure to send them to Cardigan prison, would he be pleased to accept Thomas Ellis and himself as prisoners and leave the rest at home.

Although Sir Richard did not reply, and the Friends at Aberystwyth were prepared to go to the county prison at Cardigan, and were tenderly taking leave of their wives, children, and neighbours, some of the neighbours would accompany them out of the town. The constable halted, and ordered all to return home, except Thomas Ellis and Richard Davies. He was instructed to take both to Lampeter Quarter Sessions and not to Cardigan. Thomas Ellis was known to the Justices, for when he was in authority, offenders found him sharp and just. The justices were moderate towards Ellis, but " the clerk of the peace was very peevish and forward." Davies silenced one questioner who troubled Ellis by asking if he was a justice of the peace, which he was not. Permitted to explain the object of his visit to that county, namely, to relieve Ellis and others from prison, and then a concern about Pembrokeshire, whither Ellis and he were bound. The justices commended Davies's great love, and regretted that Sir Richard Price had given such trouble to

them, and consequently discharged both. Ellis and Davies took horse and travelled to Cardigan, where they were refreshed after a hard journey. A friend undertook to lead them towards Puncteston, in Pembrokeshire, but the guide lost his way in the dark. In the rain they wandered up and down among the peat-pits and other dangerous places, but the Lord preserved them. At last they reached Puncteston, and Thomas Ellis called out for admission into a Friend's house, Thomas Simmons. The answer came "that no good friends were out at that time of night." On hearing the name, Richard Davies, Welshpool, Simmons and his wife arose quickly and gave them lodging. This was Ellis's first journey to Pembrokeshire. They visited Haverfordwest and all the meetings in the county, and Newcastle Emlyn, where Ellis left Davies and returned home.

Thomas Ellis travelled with John Burnyeat<sup>1</sup> and James Halliday.<sup>2</sup> The account of his experience at Machynlleth is found elsewhere. In 1681 he was in London with John ap Thomas, also at the Half-Yearly Meeting held at Swansea, whence he wrote an epistle to Richard Davies.<sup>3</sup> According to Elisha Beadles, Thomas Ellis was in Glamorganshire, round about Trefyrhyg, soon after his conviction.<sup>4</sup> In 1682, at the Yearly Meeting for Wales held at Redstone, Pembrokeshire, Ellis was asked to acquaint the Quarterly Meeting of North Wales of the good service of translating Friends' books into the Welsh language.<sup>5</sup> He emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1683, and was appointed commissioner under William Penn. In 1685 he visited Wales and Ireland. From Dublin he wrote to Fox a letter, in which he gives a vivid description of his new home in Pennsylvania.<sup>6</sup> Died in 1688, and was buried at Haverford, Pa.

#### JAMES NAYLER (1617—1660) AND HIS WELSH FOLLOWERS.

Nayler, the early companion of George Fox, caused many Welsh converts to become wild in their views and demeanour. Fox himself refers to those who had run out after him in Cardiff and Swansea. Such intoxication of spirit gave pause

<sup>1</sup> "In 1677, our Friend, John Burnyeat, came to give us a visit in Wales, and had a meeting at Machynlleth, etc." *Autobiography R. Davies*, 1794 Edition, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> At Welshpool, ditto, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in *Richard Davies's Autobiography*, 5th Edition, pp. 134-5.

<sup>4</sup> *First Publishers of the Truth*, p. 323.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal Supplement*, No. 6, John ap John, etc., p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> *First Publishers of the Truth*, p. 324, note. Date of letter, 13, 4mo., 1685.



even to the Founder himself. The doctrine of the Inward Light suffered considerably by the extravagancies of Nayler's followers, especially in the town of Cardiff. Nayler was one of the foremost Quaker writers, and Baxter considered him greater even than Fox. Up to the time of his departure from the true principle of Quakerism, he was remarkable for his depth of thought, spiritual power, and unstudied eloquence. He suffered cruelty for his aberration in 1656, but confessed publicly his apostasy, and resumed his preaching in 1659. The following year he died in the faith. His personal charm was undoubtedly great, and several women acted foolishly as well as men. Enemies blamed him, but never proved that he was guilty of immorality. Nayler himself declared that he was as guiltless in regard to that charge as a babe. His dying testimony breathes the fragrance of a gentle soul: "There is a spirit that I feel, that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end."<sup>1</sup>

Dorcas Erbury,<sup>2</sup> one of the disciples of James Nayler, was examined before the magistrates of Bristol on 27th October, 1656, three days after his entry into the city, in imitation of Christ entering Jerusalem.

*Question.* "Why did you sing Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Israel," before James Nayler when he rode in?

*Answer.* "She did not, but they that did were called to it by the Lord."

*Q.* Is James Nayler the holy one of Israel?

*A.* He is so, and she would seal it with her blood.

*Q.* And is he the only begotten Son of God?

*A.* He is the only begotten Son of God.

*Q.* Why did you so honour him as to pull off his stockings, and put your clothes under his feet?

*A.* Because he is the Lord of Israel and worthy of it.

*Q.* Hath Nayler raised from the dead?

*A.* I was dead two days; he laid his hands on my head in Exeter Gaol and said, Dorcas, arise.

The magistrates sent a copy of the examinations to a Parliamentary man, and upon Report to the House, a Committee was appointed to consider it, and a messenger sent for Nayler. On the 10 November the magistrates sent Nayler to London with Stranger, and his wife, Martha Symonds, and Dorcas Erbury. The punishment meted to the crazy leader was unspeakable.

<sup>1</sup> *Fox's Journal*, Cambridge Press, Vol. I., 398, note

<sup>2</sup> She lived with Margaret Thomas during her stay in Bristol. *Fox's Journal*, Cambridge Press, Vo. II., p. 383, note.

## GEORGE FOX AND HIS VISITS TO WALES.

George Fox, one of the few religious geniuses of English History,<sup>1</sup> and the greatest revolutionary of his age, passed through Wales like a flame of fire in June and July, 1657, accompanied by another spiritual reformer, racy of the soil, the intrepid idol-destroyer, John ap John, his first Welsh convert. "The man in leather breeches" turned some of the Welsh counties upside down, notably Monmouth, Radnor, and Merioneth, where the people greeted him as the prophet of God. Although his preaching roused the antagonism of state-aided preachers and magistrates, he managed to escape imprisonment by keeping within doors till a more convenient season. Rude people gathered round the Inn where he stayed in more than one town, and clamoured for him to come forth, but he wisely refused, for many were the worse for drink. Fox had regard for good order and peace during his Welsh journey. John ap John was the "son of thunder," and Fox the intercessor on his behalf when his zeal landed him in gaol. Together they got on admirably; John ap John preaching in Welsh and Fox in English. The enthusiasm created can only be gauged by the numbers of convincements and meetings which followed as direct results.

William Penn stated once that Fox had a wonderful gift for the opening up of Scriptures. His preaching in Wales amply illustrates this. He offered to Welsh professors, who knew long passages, the key of the Spirit which opened unto them the treasure-house of Holy Truth. Fox had been accused of making light of Scripture, but in Wales he proved the accusation to be false, for at Dolgelley he was constrained to admonish Independent preachers for their irreverent handling of the Word of God. The doctrine of Divine Illumination, which he proclaimed everywhere, lit up familiar verses hitherto used to support sectarian views. Independents at first could not understand what Fox meant by the "Inward Light," and confused it with created and natural light. Fox did well in emphasizing that the Light must be admitted into the life. It was not something to theorize about, but something for practical life. Walking in the Light was the important thing. His emphasis upon the practice of Light saved his teaching from many pit-falls. The Welsh nature, ever with a door open to the mystical, responded gladly to Fox's practical mysticism. We judge its inspiration not by a definition at the beginning, but at

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<sup>1</sup> The list of his works (pamphlets many of them) occupy 53 pages of Joseph Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books, 1868.

the close, after a period of great exploits. "*Da, lucem, Domine*" is the prayer of every sincere Christian to-day. The light from above informs the soul and reforms the life. This may be a Truism to us, but in the days of Fox it wrought miracles, for it swept aside the clogging theories of an outworn theology. The mystical tendency of the Welsh sometimes lays them open to the dangers of "fancy religions," but in the case of Quakerism they had no regrets for hearkening unto the voice of George Fox. This was no fancy religion, but real, practical, workable. It brought religion from the cloudland of mystery down into simple, every-day life. The true seekers could not hear enough of George Fox, for he rang true and spoke as one who knew.

The passages of mystic beauty found in his writings afford us a clue to the nature of his preaching whenever he found a congenial congregation. He had been shewn, much to his personal sorrow, the natures of dogs, swine, vipers, the spirit of Sodom, Egypt, Pharisees, Cain, Ishmael, and Esau. When he cried unto the Lord to be delivered from such sights, inasmuch as he had never been addicted to these. The answer came that it was necessary in order that he might speak to all conditions. During his sojourn in Wales, Fox was quick to detect the track of jungle-beasts; but it was his spiritual vision which charmed his hearers. Discourses like the magnificent passage which we find in his *Journal* for 1656 (Vol. I., p. 222, Cambridge Ed.), "All my dear Friends in the noble seed of God," etc.

The noblest ideals are sometimes perverted, and Quakerism suffered at the hands of Ranters and Shakers, if not Seekers, in South Wales before many years elapsed. Thomas Holme complained bitterly of the behaviour of some of these converts in Cardiff in 1656. Fox himself encountered and overcame a number of them at Swansea. Holme and a few Friends from Cardiff visited Fox at Launceston Gaol in 1656, and maybe the report given him of the wild excitement of Nayler's sympathizers led him to visit South Wales as soon as possible. He gave short shrift to those whose excesses brought the new sect into disrepute. As disciplinarian he was as powerful as one of the apostles. To sincere Quakers he was "Dear" George Fox, full of the milk of human kindness, but to hypocrites a scathing and scorching foe.

Fox appeared to succeed well among Celts. His appeal vibrated chords which ever respond to the spiritual and original. Celts have a thirst for originality, and Fox was profoundly original. Cornwall, whence he came into Wales, could be fervent and demonstrative, and was Celtic like

Wales, but his visit there cannot be compared with his Welsh visit for enthusiasm and results. Both countries remained loyal to the Royalist cause—and Cromwell was compelled to use strong measures in parts of Wales—nevertheless Wales developed a strong attachment to the man who treated monarch and subject alike.

The Welsh, ever frugal, found no hardship in following Fox in the matter of diet ; neither did they consider his restrictions on dress and amusements severe, owing to their Puritan up-bringing. The simplicity of Quakerism was quite in keeping with their love of reality without show, power without pretension. Scores of the strongest Welsh characters of the day accepted the religion of George Fox as the only solvent for their mental and moral difficulties, and Fox himself manifested a great liking for such men as John ap John, Edward Edwards, Walter Jenkins, Peter Price, Morgan Watkins, Richard Hanbury, George White, and Charles Lloyd, who are mentioned in his "Journal." We miss the name of Richard Davies, who visited his "dear ancient friend George Fox" at Worcester Gaol in 1674. His Welsh friends were men of strong intellect and advanced Puritanism. Like himself, these men noticed with sorrow the contrast between profession and practice, but could not discover the principle which would harmonize both.

The revelation came to Fox at the age of nineteen, when invited to a drinking bout by some nominal Christians. Then he saw the disgusting discrepancy between profession and practice, and was set on a soul-distressing search for the real guiding principle of true religion. His transforming and central experience came to him in the year 1646. Christianity became not a mere profession, but an Inner Light by which Christ illuminated the believing soul. Revelation came not through the written word of Scripture alone, but through Christ the Incarnate word of God, whose spirit speaks directly through them, giving them their message and quickening for service. Eleven years later he appeared in Wales as the missionary of a New Evangel, planting meetings everywhere, and winning hundreds of converts by his eloquence and magnetic personality. Such immediate success is one of the wonders of Church History, especially when we remember that it implied sacrifice. It was not a revival of emotional religion, but of true Christian ethics. The zeal which his presence kindled is inexplicable apart from the Holy Spirit. Personal Evangelism never had a more successful propounder or inspirer. The love of romance so characteristic of the Welsh nature found at last not a worldly pageant for its exercise, but the new and unexplored realm of spiritual



adventure. "Lofty designs must close in like effects;" so holy ambitions kindled by Fox led to great achievements in character and spiritual charm. His mysticism was healthy without a taint of morbidity. He was active not passive, positive not negative, practical not polemical, and his whole personality attracted Welsh people. His tireless energy set them an example worthy of emulation, and many became successful missionaries.

The psychology of religion is to a large extent an unexplored science; difficult also, because of the danger of falling into a too narrow scientific analysis of what is first and last a complex and delicate personal problem. A profitable field of investigation awaits its Columbus, namely, Quakerism and its relation to Celtic Psychology. Fox's intuition often reminds one of the examples of Welsh intuition scattered here and there in the literature of the country. His moments of spiritual penetration make one think of Henry Vaughan and George Herbert.

Henry Vaughan, a typical Welshman and great mystic, sang:

"And vet as angels in some brighter dreams  
Call to the soul when man doth sleep,  
So some strange thoughts transcend our wonted themes  
And into glory peep."

The Welsh people have always desired to "peep" into the hidden mysteries of life. Their mysticism has not taken the same form in every age. In the days of Roman Catholicism it manifested itself in love of symbols and ritual, then in love of beauty, in hymns, and sermons. Is it the influence of the mountains? or is it the gift of the Creator to the nation? The Welshman cannot define it, but the thirst for immortality is at the root of his melancholy and restlessness. Pascal said, "We endeavour to find God because He has found us," and the Welshman has been striving through Romance and Poetry to find the Ineffable one. As Tennyson says in his *Mystic Fact*, "Ask me not for I may not speak of it. I saw it." If the Welshman cannot utter his thoughts clearly about mysticism, it is part of his being, and shews itself in his life and literature. He rises from the material and fleeting to the spiritual and timeless. Sacraments were symbols of the mystic life before the coming of Fox, afterward a Divine *awareness* came into his religion. Music had been to him the translation of the movements of Divine life, afterward the melody became manifest in beautiful conduct.

Crashaw presented George Herbert's volume, *Steps to the Temple*, to a lady friend one day, and wrote the following lines in it:—

" Know you Fair on what you look ?  
 Divinest love lies in this book,  
 Expecting fire from your eyes  
 To kindle this his sacrifice ;  
 When your hands untie these strings  
 Think, you've an *angel by the wings.*"

That is the Welshman's mysticism down the ages, an attempt to seize an " angel by the wings." George Fox helped Wales to do this, and the effects of his teaching have permeated religion in Wales more than we are apt to credit. Without the medium of symbols this great mystic had direct access to God. Symbols which proved helpful to some were to him a hindrance. He on his naked spirit bore the marks of intense mysticism. Given reverence and love, mysticism became an atmosphere of heavenly joy in his Welsh followers. John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, a poet of Welsh extraction, seemed to anticipate Fox in his *Progress of the Soul*.

Fox's periods of ecstasy were not unknown to some of the Puritan bards and preachers. His hypersensitivity to the spiritual world was understood better by his Welsh Friends than the Saxons. To the Welsh Quakers he was the mouth-piece of God. We marvel not that some felt like bowing down before him in humble deference. Fortunately, Fox was strong enough to refuse such homage. He was not afflicted with the vanity of the public orator, for with him it was " all of God." Life was everything with him, and if his religion was designated " the worst " in regard to doctrine, it was the " best " in righteous living.

A modern writer<sup>1</sup> describes the Founder of Quakerism in the following manner : " His mystical insight arises out of the hyper-aesthesia of his normal senses, and their subliminal ramifications out of the immediacy values from the intimate senses, out of the non-cognizable factors of valuation, though probably with the aid of the clarifying effects of the reason." This may be interesting to the psychologist ; but the early Welsh Quakers knew not of the absorbing science of Psychology, nevertheless they were attracted by Fox's strong human and spiritual qualities. The humanity of Fox must not be ousted by any science, for he conquered as man.

If Fox came again to Wales he might use the same words as he did in 1656, when he laid bare the besetting sin of Christianity : " There is the danger and temptation to you of drawing your minds into your business and clogging them with it, so that ye can hardly do anything to the service of God ; but there will be crying, My business, my business, and

<sup>1</sup> *The Founder of Quakerism*, by Rachel Knight, London. The Swarthmore Press, 1923.

your minds will go *into* the things, and not *over* the things ; and so therein ye do not come into the image of God in which is dominion." The passage might have been written yesterday in the midst of the pressure of modern business and its competition. The image of God implies dominion, and the burden of Fox's preaching in Wales during his several visits was how to attain this image. The references to Wales in his Journal reveal indomitable courage and zeal for truth, entire dependence upon God, a love for man and beast. At Haverfordwest he was angered because the Inn-keeper had not allowed the horses to have the peck of oats which had been ordered. "The oats were stolen," writes Fox, "from our horses." The horses were robbed in another town, and Fox spared not the inhuman despoiler.

1652. This entry is interesting, but the date is incorrect. "Also John ap John, a Welshman, was a preacher ; but when he came to be convinced he left his former trade and preached the Everlasting Gospel freely, as he had received it freely, and was much persecuted and imprisoned for truth and preaching." Vol. II., p. 323.

1653. The passage relating to John ap John's visit to Fox at Swarthmoor has been more often quoted in Wales than any other in his Journal : "And there was a priest at Wrexham in Wales, one Ffloyd, he sent two of his preachers into the North to try us and see what a manner of people we was ; but they were convinced both by the power of the Lord and turned to Christ ; and they stayed a time and went back again ; and one of them stands a fine minister for Christ to this day, one John ap John, but the other did not continue a Friend." Vol. I., p. 141.

1655. Peter Price and Walter Jenkins, two Justices of the Peace, visited Fox.<sup>1</sup> Both became Quaker ministers.

1655. George White, priest, was convinced of the Truth, and left his preaching for hire and became a Quaker minister.<sup>2</sup>

1656. Two Justices of the Peace out of Wales visited Fox, who afterwards became fine ministers, and turned many to the Spirit of God. "One of them convinced three priests, and one of them became a fine minister and stands to this day" (George White ?).<sup>3</sup>

1656. Fox went into Wales as far as Swansea, where he met several that had run out with James Nayler, who were very wild, but the Lord's power came over them.<sup>4</sup>

1657. He visited Cardiff, Swansea, Brecon, Pontymoil,

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. I., p. 195. Jenkins is spelt "Jenckins."

<sup>2</sup> Vol. II., p. 322. *Vide* "Monmouthshire" in this work.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I., p. 229.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. I., p. 262.

Shrewsbury, Cheshire, Montgomeryshire, Radnorshire, Leominster, Tenby, Pembroke, Haverfordwest, Dolgelley, "City like a Castle" (Carnarvon), Beaumaris, Denbigh, Flintshire, Wrexham, and Chester.<sup>1</sup>

The Itinerary of this memorable and epoch-making visit may be recapitulated with profit. On reaching Cardiff a Justice of the Peace sent for Fox, stating that he might bring with him half a dozen Friends. So he took one or two, and went up, and was civilly received by the Justice and his wife. The next day he had a meeting at the Town Hall, and the Justice sent seventeen of his family to the service. Disturbers came to the meeting, but the Lord's power was over all. Many were turned to the Lord. Some of Nayler's followers remained away, but Fox sent them word that the day of their visitation was over, and they prospered not in any way.

Passing through the country he reached Swansea, crossing the ferry with the High Sheriff of the County. After a blessed meeting Fox settled the cause in the town. The High Sheriff would not be spoken to the following day. Hence he journeyed to another meeting in the country, and afterwards to a "great man's house, who received us very lovingly," but the next morning was ungetatable for some one had incensed him against them. Meetings were held and converts added in other counties.

Arriving at Brecon the horses were stabled at an Inn, "and there went with me Tho. Holmes and John Ap John, who was moved of the Lord to speak in the streets." Fox walked out a little into the fields, but by the time he returned the town was in an uproar. The room at the Inn was full of people speaking in Welsh. Fox desired them to use English, which they did, and they had great discourse. At night the magistrates bid a multitude which had gathered in the streets to shout, and they brought the town together, and for the space of two hours "there was such a noise as the like we had not heard." The uproar among Diana's craftsmen at Ephesus equalled not this Welsh outburst. Had "the Lord's power not prevented them they might have plucked down the house and us to pieces." The woman of the house tried to get Fox and his Friends out of the room, but failed. Then she would introduce six men under pretence of discourse. "So we told her that no person should come into our room that night, neither would we go out to them." They would not go into another room for supper, so she brought supper to them in a great rage, for she and they were crossed in

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. I., pp. 270—284.



their design. Fox believed that mischief was intended for them that night at Brecon. In the morning Fox sent forth a paper shewing the town their unchristian carriage, and the fruits of their priests and magistrates, and as he passed out of the place he spoke to the people of how they shamed Christianity and religion.

A great meeting was held in a steeple-house yard some distance from Brecon, attended by Justice Jenkins, a priest, another Justice, and many professors. Fox opened the Scripture to them, and dealt with the objections at which they stuck in their profession. Preaching to them the Gospel of Truth, and Redemption from sin through faith in Jesus Christ, the priest made higher than the Heavens; many were convinced and settled that day. It was a peaceable meeting after the uproar at Brecon. After the meeting Fox went with Justice Jenkins to the house of the other Justice, who said unto him, "You have given this day great satisfaction to the people, and answered all their objections that was in their minds." The people had the Scriptures, but lacked the spirit which gave them, and which is the key to open them.

The next place mentioned is Pontymoil. A great meeting was held at Richard Hanbury's, "and there came another Justice of Peace, and several great people to it," whose understanding was opened by the Lord's power and spirit. Many convincements took place at Pontymoil, and a large meeting was gathered there after this visit..

From Pontymoil he returned to England, and then came back to Shrewsbury, visiting Friends up and down the counties in their meetings till he came to William Gandy's, in Cheshire, where a meeting of two or three thousand gathered together. Here heavy rain fell. Fox believed that rain always followed certain Quaker meetings. On his return to Wales he found the country dusty and parched, and the people expected rain to follow the visit of Fox. His passage here about Oliver's proclamation regarding a fast because of the drought, reveals how Fox connected the drought with Divine judgment; and how even beyond the seas people expected rain to descend when the Quakers held their general meetings. "They who receive the truth and became fruitful unto God receive from Him their fruitful seasons also."

Passing through the county of Montgomery he came into Radnor, where he had the largest meeting during his tour in Wales, "A meeting like a leaguer for multitudes." While the people were congregating together Fox withdrew a little off for meditation and prayer. John ap John went to him,

but was told to speak in Welsh to the crowd if he had a message from the Lord.

Later, Morgan Watkins approached Fox, pressing him to come: "The people lies like a leaguer and the gentry of the country is come in." He also was sent back, for Fox "had a great travail upon him for the salvation of the people." His account of that heavenly service, although he speaks of himself, has nothing egotistic about it. It is a vivid word-picture of charming beauty and power. "And so I passed up to the meeting, and stood atop of a chair about three hours, and sometimes leaned my hand off a man's head, and stood a pretty while before I began to speak: and many people sat on horseback, and at last I felt the power of the Lord went over them all, and the Lord's Everlasting Life and Truth shined over all: and the Scriptures was opened to them, and their objections answered in their minds, and every one of them turned to the Light of Christ, the Heavenly Man, that with it they might all see their sins and see their Saviour, their Redeemer, their Mediator, and feed upon Him their bread from heaven, and many was turned that day to the Lord Jesus Christ and His Free teaching, and all was bowed down under the power of God, and parted peaceably and quietly with great satisfaction, and they said they never heard such a 'devine' [sermon in Ellwood's Edition] in their lives." The nature of the discourse may be imagined from the description which Fox supplies: "And the Scriptures so opened, and the New Covenant, and the old Covenant, and the Parables, and the state of the Church in the Apostles' days, and the Apostacy since, and Christ and the Apostles' Free teaching set atop of all the hireling teachers, and people turned to him." Small wonder that Fox was told that if he came again all the people would be convinced. His searching ministry gave them satisfaction. "The Lord had the praise for many was turned to Him that day." Peter Price, a Justice of the Peace, turned, who became a fine minister. A priest and his wife sat on horseback that day, and heard patiently, but made no objections.

At Leominster the proceedings were lively. There again Fox stood a matter of three hours in a close, where many hundreds of people gathered, and six separate preachers and priests. One priest went a bow-shot off and began to preach, so there were two meetings going on. Thomas Tayler, a convinced priest, who was with Fox, approached the rival preacher, "and he gave over, and he and his people" went up to hear Fox.

A converted Baptist asked, "where is Priest Toms?" (priest of Leominster). Someone informed the priest, and

he came to the meeting accompanied by town bailiffs, magistrates and officers.

When Fox was speaking of the mystic heavenly light of Christ Toms, the priest, cried out, "That is a natural and a made light." Fox made his statement appear ridiculous, but allowed him to take his words and mend them. Then the priest asserted that it was natural, created light, and so made it worse and worse in his argument. The Quaker prophet was called a "cunning fox," and the priest told the magistrates to take him away or he would not speak any more. Fox, equal to the occasion, said, "Priest Toms, thou art not in thy pulpit now, nor in thy old Mass-house: thou art deceived, we are in the fields; and so he was shuffling to be gone." His skill in meeting and silencing hecklers was a great gift. Seldom was he routed for his arguments were consistent with his point of view.

Meetings were held by Fox in several places on his way to Pembrokeshire. His account of what happened in that county is given in his own words under that division.

After leaving Haverfordwest they came at night "to a little Inn, very poor, but very cheap; for we and our two horses cost but eight pence." "But," adds Fox, "the horses would as soon eat the heath on the common as their oats." He declared the Truth through the counties.

Edward Edwards in a great town visited went into the market and declared the Truth, and the people came and filled the yard of the Inn, some of whom were exceeding rude. The chaffy natures were overcome, and the magistrates were powerless because of the Divine presence with them.

At another great town John ap John preached in the streets on a market day, and many gathered about the Inn in the evening; some of them being drunk would have the preachers come forth, but Fox, seeing through their design, invited any that feared God and desired to hear the Truth to come into the Inn, or else they would have a meeting with them in the morning. The ground was hard, but the seed was sown. At that Inn Fox caught the man who was feeding the horse filling his pockets with the provendor: "A wicked theevish people to rob the poor dumb creature of his food, which I had rather they had robbed me."

As they rode along a great man overtook them in the way, who intended to have them arrested in the next town as highwaymen. Fox spoke to him, and he was so affected that "he had us to his house and entertained us very civilly." Both he and his wife were convinced. Everywhere Fox put the Kingdom of God before all else. He never missed an opportunity of commending the gospel of salvation, full and

free. They came to another town, "and coming atop of a hill, which they say was two or three miles high," (Cader Idris) the spirit of prophecy descended upon Fox, "And on this hill side I could see a great way, and I was moved to sound the day of the Lord there, and set my face several ways, and told John ap John, a faithful Welsh minister, in what places God would raise up a people to sit under his teaching, and those places he took notice of, and since then has a great people risen in those places." How true this prophecy became, for Merionethshire supplied many hundreds of loyal Quakers. Fox made similar prophecies in other districts, which were also fulfilled, although at the time they were rude and hard places for the seed of Truth.

Descending from the high mountain they came into Dolgelley and stayed at an Inn. John ap John preached in the streets, and the townspeople gathered to hear him, and among them were two Independent priests. Both these discoursed with John ap John. The argument was heated, for Fox came up and asked what was the subject under discussion, and why could they not be more moderate and speak one at a time. "The things of God were weighty, and they should speak them with fear and reverence." Fox desired them to speak in English, and then they said that the Light which John came to bear witness of, was a created natural and made light. The sight of Fox with the Bible in hand explaining the difference between the natural and spiritual light before the priests and people at Dolgelley is truly touching and characteristic. The priests were silenced, and effectively taught to handle the word of God with becoming reverence. Fox desired John ap John to speak in Welsh, which he did, and the meeting in the street broke up in peace, and many accompanied them to the Inn rejoicing in the Truth that had been declared unto them. When leaving the town the people were so affected that they lifted up their hands and blessed the Lord. Fox refers to the large number of Quakers in that district, and to their sufferings.

Thence they passed on to Carnarvon town, called a "City like a Castle," where John ap John spoke through the streets. A multitude gathered, and "a priest as dark as dark could be" was silenced. Fox declared the word of life. Some were rude and some civil; and they told the preachers how they had heard of the persecution and abuse which they had received elsewhere, but they would not treat them so there. Fox commended their moderation and sobriety.

The next town visited was Beaumaris, where John ap John had been formerly a separate teacher. For speaking in



the streets John ap John was cast into prison, and the magistrates intended sending Fox also to prison. Heedless of the threat that if he went out into the street he would be imprisoned, Fox sallied forth and reproved the people for their uncivil and unchristian conduct. Such entertainment for strangers was not in keeping with their high profession. John ap John received his freedom. The next day, being market day, they would cross the straits after having a blessed meeting. Fox bid John ap John get his horse into the boat, but a company of rude men (wild gentlemen) kept his horse out of the boat. Thereupon Fox shewed his manliness by exposing their unmanly behaviour, and leapt with his horse into the boat among them. John failed to get his horse in because the water was deep, therefore Fox leaped out on horseback again and remained with his friend on that side, where they were kept for three hours waiting till the boat returned to fetch them. They had a journey of forty-two miles before them that evening, and they had but one groat left between them.

After travelling sixteen miles they got a little hay for the horses; then they came to an alehouse for the night, but could not have oats nor hay, so they travelled all night, and about four o'clock in the morning came to a place within six miles of Wrexham. This in all probability was Trevor, the home of John ap John. Many Friends met there, and a meeting, "glorious and large," was held. Fox records how weary they were with travelling up and down in Wales, and of the difficulty experienced in getting meat for their horses and themselves in some places.

The next day they travelled through Denbighshire into Flintshire, and sounded the day of the Lord through the towns, and came into Wrexham at night. Many of Morgan Llwyd's flock came to them, "but very rude and wild and airy they were, and little sense of truth they had, yet there was some convinced in the town." The next morning a lady who kept a chaplain in her house sent for Fox. Both were light and airy. The lady asked if she might cut his hair. Fox reproved her and bade her take the sword of the spirit and cut down the corruptions in her own heart. Her petty boast that she had cut off a lock of his hair was a lie. Before leaving, Fox wrote a paper to the Mayor and Sheriff at Beaumaris, to let them see their conditions and fruits in imprisoning John ap John. Fox met some of those Justices afterwards near London, and they were ashamed of their actions. From Wrexham they passed through the country to Chester, where they stayed a while, being fair-time.

1661. "Also in Wales, about the year 1661, there were

three priests convinced by a faithful minister; and since there is another priest convinced in Wales, who have received the everlasting gospel, and have left preaching for hire and denied that trade." Vol II., p. 323.

1663. Fox passed from Hereford into Radnorshire (Radnoll Sheere) and had several precious meetings there, "and the Lord's name and standard was set up there, and many hundreds there is in Wales that are settled under Christ Jesus, teaching that has bought them and purchased them." Thence he visited a market town between England and Wales, where was a great fair.<sup>1</sup>

1667. "And so out of Cheshire I passed into Shropshire, and from thence into Wales and into Denbighshire and Montgomeryshire, and had a large general men's meeting at Charles Ffloyde's, where some opposers came in, but the Lord's power was over all."<sup>2</sup> Thence he proceeded to Merionethshire, where he had several blessed meetings; then to the sea-side (Llwyndu?), and so passed through several counties and had many large meetings, and Friends were established upon Christ their foundation. And from thence we returned into Shropshire again, having settled the men's monthly meetings in the power of God both in Wales and Shropshire, and those other counties we came into.<sup>3</sup>

1668. From Gloucestershire he entered into Monmouthshire, visiting Slow and Richard Hanbury. Settled the monthly meetings, and exhorted all to walk worthily. The Justices declared that never such a man came into their country who had reconciled neighbour to neighbour, and husband to wife, and turned many from their loose lives. Fox passed through the county visiting Friends, and Richard Hanbury and his wife accompanied him a day's journey through the hills. The night was spent at a widow's house. Thence he passed over the hills (Quaker's Yard) preaching and visiting Friends, and came to another widow's place, where a meeting was held, but the woman was monoglot-Welsh. She thanked God for sending Fox over the hills to them. Thence he travelled to Swansea, where he had a meeting on a First Day and a week day, large and precious—afterward beyond Swansea. Monthly meetings were settled at Tenby, Swansea, Haverfordwest, and many other places.

Returning to Swansea he proceeded to Mumbles, intending to take ship for Cornwall, but the master after promising to carry the company would not keep his word. Another passage was sought, and after Fox and his companions had

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. II., p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. II., p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. II., p. 114.

got their horses into the boat, "some rude gentry threatened to pistol the master of the boat," and so the horses were turned out. Travelling through the night Fox came to a place near Cardiff. About two o'clock in the morning the following day he reached Newport, and being market day Friends came to see him (and a Justice's son's wife). A man on the high road would have way-laid them. Fox "heard him tell two great men's pages that he would take us up and stop us, and he galloped on and we rid after him, being in our way, and when he would have stopped us I told him he ought not to stop us in the King's highway, for it was as free for us as for him." At Shipton (Chepstow), a garrison town, Fox, instead of being arrested by the interferer as intended, arrested him by a personal message, for he exhorted him to fear the Lord. Fox and John ap John walked their horses through Shipton on a market day, and would not enter an Inn although invited by Friends. They passed on and had a meeting on First Day in the Forest of Dean. Thus Fox, who entered South Wales in 1657 at Slow, near Chepstow, departed after his second visit in 1668 almost at the same place. After so many years how true his statement, "God's oil will be atop of all visible things, which makes His lamp to burn and to give light afar off."

RICHARD DAVIES, Welshpool (1635—1708), may be called an apostle of Quakerism, for he convinced many of the Truth, not only in Montgomeryshire, but in other parts of Wales and England. Rowland Owen in his testimony to Richard Davies said, "I was acquainted with our friend for about forty years, and I can say of a truth that his service was great in the Church of Christ, especially in times of persecution, he having much interest with the magistrates and them in authority in those days." The account which he himself gives in his "Autobiography" of his conviction is touching. He first heard of the Quakers about 1656 from Independent preachers, who called the new sect false prophets. The hearers were warned lest they should be deceived by them, for they denied the Scriptures, the ordinances, and the Christ who bought them. The following year Morgan Evan, a Quaker, from South Wales, "a poor man in a mean habit," called at his master's house, Evan Jones, a felt-maker, in the parish of Llanfair, Montgomeryshire. Richard Davies discovered that the Quaker was well-versed, and a firm believer in Scripture, and could give a reason for the faith that was in him. Fearing lest he should be deceived he pondered the matter of Truth prayerfully, and desired earnestly to see Morgan Evan again. His wish was granted, for the traveller called once more, and at the request of Richard

Davies, his master and mistress gave him a night's lodging. Morgan Evan explained to him Quaker principles, and when he departed, Davies "set him a little along on his way."

Richard Davies could not adopt the forms of address favoured by Quakers without a struggle. The first to be spoken to by him in correct form was his master, who was not offended, because he was convinced of the truth of it. But when he applied "thee" and "thou" to his mistress, the reception was entirely different, for she flew into a passion and struck him severely on his bare head with a stick, and swore that she would kill him, though she should be hanged for it; and one day she would have shed his blood, but the Lord intervened, and her cruel rage passed. This woman, when sick, desired his forgiveness, saying she could not die without it. Davies gladly forgave her, and prayed that God also might forgive her.

The priest at Welshpool informed his parents that he was distracted, and advised them to get a learned minister to talk with him, and bring him back to his senses. His father turned his back upon him, but his mother was convinced that he was not distracted. Davies went to the steeplehouse on the First Day with his father, and kept silent till the priest had finished, then he stood up and told him: "That he might do well to stay and make good the false doctrine that he had preached that day, if he could; and if I was distracted, as he reported, that he might labour to restore me to my right senses again." He was rushed away to prison forthwith, and David Davies, another young companion; but both were released in the morning. Richard Davies returned to his master, but the other suffered violence by his father, who got up from his prayer and beat his son violently with a staff, and with a lock and chain fastened him out of doors on a cold frosty night. Their public testimony began with suffering, which increased in severity as the numbers grew. Shortly afterward Richard Davies visited Shrewsbury, about Christmas, where he attended a meeting at John Millington's, and afterward, W. Pane's at the Wild Cop. On the day he intended returning, news came that John ap John had arrived, and that a meeting was to be held. This was the first Quaker preacher for him to hear. The Welshman of Trevor spoke with authority, and his words were "so sound and piercing." The next public service rendered by Davies was "to warn a company of people to think of their latter end, who were met to dance and to play at . . . . a merry night not far from my master's house."

Yearning for the company of a kindred spirit, he visited Llanfyllin in 1658, one First Day, in order to see Roger



Pritchard, a Quaker just arrived from Ireland. Although strangers, they had a refreshing meeting. Pritchard returned to Ireland, and suffered great losses by sea. He relapsed, but was restored, as we shall see elsewhere.

Vavasor Powell was angered by the withdrawal of Richard Davies, and preached strongly against the Quakers. Hoping to meet Powell, he went to a meeting at Cloddiau Cochion, but he was not present. Another preacher conducted the service—John Griffiths, a Justice of the Peace. Davies interrupted the preacher, and testified for God, Christ, the Way, and the Truth. Griffiths ordered him to be taken away, and a relative who owned Cloddiau Cochion led him outside through a gate and left him on “the common.” There he wept and mourned “to see the blindness, darkness, and hardness of heart, pride, and haughtiness, that were come over a people who once were loving, kind, and humble in spirit.” Cloddiau Cochion afterward became his own home, and it was an open house for Friends, well known for its hospitality.

Some of his young companions of the Independents met him in the open air for meetings. Rain and bad weather could not damp their zeal, and truly their meetings in silence were “the wonder of the country.” Two young men left, one, an apprentice with a Friend in London, and the other settled in Gloucestershire among Friends. Richard Davies and William Davies remained and met together for some time. The latter was beaten cruelly once by Richard Davies’s mistress, and gave up meeting his companion in the open.

He proceeded to London in 1658–9, but found no peace till he returned back to his native country. However, before doing this, he met a young woman who spoke at Horsley-down Meeting, in Southwark, against an “evil ranting spirit that opposed Friends,” proposed marriage to her and was accepted. Their wedding took place on the 26th 4mo., 1659, at Snail Meeting, Tower Street, London, and was solemnized without priest or justice. This was a striking departure, for people in those days were married by a priest or before a justice. Not long afterwards he returned to Welshpool with his wife, and found the Independents beginning to feel faint-hearted because of the news that Charles the Second would ascend the throne. The professors, who had been in great power, were made prisoners even as the Quakers. Davies, who was a prisoner of the magistrate of the town, boldly entered a room at night where the high sheriff, Colonel Mostyn, and the justices were sitting in answer to a summons for his presence. One justice said he was mad, and suggested whipping him. The oath of Allegiance and Supremacy was

tendered, which he refused. The high sheriff remarked that he was a strange man and of a strange persuasion to come before them with his hat on, and would not take the oaths, nor give bail. His colloquy with Colonel Mostyn shews how well he could behave without sacrificing principle. A priest who was among the justices was effectively rebuked by him and silenced. Because he was the prisoner of Charles Jones, the chief magistrate, they let him go ; but he demanded his hat, which had been seized by some of the baser sort, which was restored. Charles Jones took him a short distance away and bid him go home.

In 1660 many Independents were cast into Montgomery prison. A band of soldiers came to take Richard Davies. One soldier went upstairs with pistol and naked sword to fetch him. His wife with a babe three days old in bed, said, "Dear husband be faithful to God, whatever becomes of me." The aldermen interposed and sent the cavalry away, and Richard Davies went in the morning to Montgomery gaol. There he found Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, many of them old acquaintances, whose one aim seemed to have been to avoid speech with him lest they should become Quakers. He attended a meeting held by these other Non-conformists in gaol, and spoke, with the result that a Baptist, Cadwaladr Edwards, was convinced of the Truth.

Richard Davies was a remarkable personality, for he succeeded in making many disciples. "Tact," which has somehow lost a little of its pristine praise, characterized him. His was sanctified tact, and proved a great asset in those contentious times. It meant that he was in loving touch with human hearts. Anne Hamon, who carried a letter for him to his wife from Montgomery gaol, became a Quaker.

In 1661 he went to a meeting at Edgemont, near Wem, whence he and William Gibson and about twenty-six others were taken to Shrewsbury prison.

The following year he was greatly concerned about meetings in his native county, Montgomeryshire. Cadwaladr Edwards had promised to have a meeting at his house near Dolobrán, Meifod ; so Richard Davies told his wife, who was going to Shrewsbury, to bring back a public Friend with her for the meeting. Richard Moor of Salop came to Welshpool, and a day or two later both went to Cadwaladr Edwards's house, whither Charles Lloyd of Dolobrán came, a former justice, and other neighbours who were Independents. The presence of the Lord was felt at the meeting, and the following morning Charles Lloyd received the preachers at his own house, where they had a refreshing time. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who lived at Llyssin, three miles from Dolobrán,

ordered Lloyd to appear before him, and others who were at the meeting. For refusing the oath of Allegiance and Supremacy he sent the following six to Welshpool prison:—Charles Lloyd, Hugh David, Richard David, Cadwaladr Edwards, Anne Lawrence, and Sarah Wilson, where they were closely confined. Later William and Margaret Lewis of Cloddiau Cochion were added to them. This same Lewis turned Richard Davies out of the meeting at his house in 1657.

Vavasor Powell, looking out of the prison window, saw Richard Davies and his wife walking together, and exclaimed, “Behold Zacharias and Elizabeth: it was said of them, that they walked in all the commandments of God blameless.” This confession led some of the prisoners to accept Quakerism.

A paper was sent to the Quarter Sessions held at Montgomery, 8<sup>th</sup> 11<sup>mo</sup>, 1662, signed by six men and four women Friends—Humphrey Wilson, Richard Davies, Edward Evans, Charles Lloyd, Hugh David, William Lewis, Sarah Wilson, Margaret Lewis, Catherine Evans, and Anne Lawrence. In this paper the signatories complained to the magistrates that friends are allowed to visit drunkards, liars, thieves, and robbers, whereas Quakers who suffered for a good conscience are denied this privilege, and this was done in spite of the King’s declaration of liberty of conscience at Breda.

Shortly afterward he settled a meeting at Penllyn, near Bala, and visited Tyddyn-y-Garreg, Dolserau, and Llwyn-grwil, where he had convincements.

Richard Davies and Thomas Lloyd visited Justices of the Peace in the county on behalf of Quaker prisoners. Davies’s services as pleader for prisoners before persons in high positions cannot be too highly praised. He won the respect of such men as Edward, Lord Herbert, Price of Gogerddan, Earl Powys, Bishop Lloyd, Hyde the Chancellor, Sir Leoline Jenkins, and others. His knowledge of law appeared to be sound and most useful to Friends. Mainly through his influence with Lord Powys the £20 fine was cancelled.

In 1682 three Friends from the city of London, and three from the country, waited upon Lord Hyde, on behalf of suffering Friends in Bristol. The three from the country were Charles Lloyd, Thomas Wynne, and Richard Davies. His picture of Sir Leoline (Lionel in the book) Jenkins, Secretary of State, as a “cross ill-humoured and grim man” is far from attractive. Between Charles Lloyd and Richard Davies, their fellow countryman Jenkins did not come off with success in the political and religious encounter.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Auto. of R. D.*, p. 143-6, 5th Ed., 1794.



Davies was able to test a meeting in a remarkable manner whether it had the right spirit or not. He detected the "corrupt spirit" which possessed John Whitehouse at a meeting held in Cloddiau Cochion, also the heresy of Meredith Edwards, and Cadwaladr Edwards who "continued in stubbornness and hardness of heart," and died in Fleet prison in London for debt. When in London in 1682, although unwell, he was constrained to attend an afternoon meeting at the Bull and Mouth on a First Day. A stranger was preaching on "Perfection," but he had not the voice of the true Shepherd, so Richard Davies stood up in the gallery and judged him, "and told the people that the Kingdom of God stood not in words, but in power, righteousness, and holiness." The speaker left in a rage because he had lost a wager, which he had made that he would speak at a Quaker's meeting without being detected. There are other examples of his wonderful spiritual awareness which prove how near God he lived.

He was able to preach in English and Welsh, but his ministry was chiefly conducted in English. No Friend from Wales was more acceptable at the Yearly Meeting in London than Davies. As a rule meetings were held by him at different places on his outward and homeward journeys, and everywhere he nourished the brethren. He visited the counties of Salop, Worcester, Gloucester, Hereford, Radnor, and the other counties of South Wales and North Wales. Pembrokeshire had special attractions for him. He travelled with John ap John, Thomas Ellis, Charles Lloyd, his daughter—Tace, and others. In controversy he was direct and convincing. He did not arrive quickly at the conclusion that he should forsake Independency and become a Quaker, but once his mind was made up he never moved whatever the cost to him and his family. George Whitehead, in his testimony to him, supplies an excellent portrait of this brave publisher of Truth: "His testimony and ministry was evangelical, plain, and sound; not in words of man's wisdom, but in the demonstration and plain evidence of the Holy Spirit and power of Christ." The Quarterly Meeting of Montgomeryshire, Shropshire, and Merionethshire, held at Dolobrán, after his death, recorded its appreciation of his character and service in loving terms, which was signed by twenty-seven prominent Friends. He died on the 22 of 1st month, 1707-8, and was buried at the Friend's burial ground, Cloddiau Cochion.

CHARLES LLOYD, Dolobrán (1637—1698). The conviction of Charles Lloyd as described by Richard Davies is striking, and led to great things in Welsh Quakerism. He



came of a princely stock,<sup>1</sup> and proved his valour in the trying persecutions which he encountered. Richard Davies and Richard Moor of Salop conducted a service at the house of Cadwaladr Edwards, near Dolobrán, in September, 1662, "where came in Charles Lloyd, of Dolobrán, who was formerly in commission of the peace, and had been in election to be High Sheriff of that county, and also several of his well-meaning neighbours, some of them were professors, belonging to the same people that I formerly belonged to."<sup>2</sup> The presence of the Lord effected wonderful changes in the hearts of those present, and on the following day a meeting was held at the house of Charles Lloyd, which proved "sweet, comfortable, and refreshing." The success of the meeting spread, and some reported "that most of that side of the country were turned Quakers." Edward, Lord Herbert, Baron of Cherbury, sent for Charles Lloyd and others to Llyssin, a house about three miles from Dolobrán, and because they refused to take the oath of Allegiance and Supremacy committed them to Welshpool prison—Charles Lloyd, Hugh David, Richard David, Cadwaladr Edwards, Anne Lawrence, and Sarah Wilson. The gaoler was most cruel, and if at a later period Charles Lloyd and the other Quakers were allowed to take quarters elsewhere in the town, it was due more to lack of prison accomodation than leniency. Lloyd was placed at first "in a little smoky room, and did lie upon a little straw himself for a considerable time." His wife Elizabeth, the daughter of Sampson Lort,<sup>3</sup> near Pembroke, of her own free will elected to go to prison, and to lie upon straw with her "tender husband."

Charles Lloyd and his companions were committed without a trial, which was against the law of the land, and they never had a trial. Before his conviction at Dolobrán, Lloyd had come under Quaker influence at Oxford, likewise his younger brother, Thomas Lloyd.

Charles Lloyd, the second (1662—1747), was born while

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<sup>1</sup> John Lloyd, J.P., of Dolobrán, a noted antiquary, traced the pedigree of the Dolobrán family by parchment deeds, back through Celynin and Aleth, King of Dyfed in the eleventh century to the sixteenth century. The name Lloyd (Llwyd) was assumed about 1476 from an old family seat, Llwydiarth, in Montgomeryshire. John Lloyd resided at Coedcowrid. Twenty-four of his tenants, with halberds, were wont to attend him on Sunday to Meifod Church. Charles Lloyd (1613—1657), his son, married Elizabeth Stanley (Earls of Derby).

<sup>2</sup> *Auto. of Rich. Davies*, Ed. 1794, pp. 52, 53.

<sup>3</sup> Sampson Lort was the son of Sir George Lort, Bart., of Stackpole Court, Pem. The Lorts were descendants of an old Norman family, Sampson being the name of a popular Norman saint, to whom many churches were dedicated.

his parents were in gaol. Thomas Lloyd, during his college vacation visited with Richard Davies, most of the Justices who had committed his brother and the other Quakers, with the result that the gaoler was ordered to let them move into an empty house at the end of the town. Charles Lloyd took a house for himself and family, where meetings were held during the ten years of his incarceration. Although free to move about he was forbidden to visit Dolobrán, which was five miles away.

His possessions were under *praemunire*, his cattle were sold, and his mansion became much neglected. Sampson, his son, was born 26 Feb., 1664, and later his daughter Elizabeth, who married John Pemberton of Bennet's Hill, Birmingham. Before Charles Lloyd's liberation his wife died, and was buried at Cloddiau Cochion. When the "Declaration of Indulgence" was issued, 15 March, 1672, suspending all penal laws in ecclesiastical matters, Charles Lloyd returned to civil life. The "Declaration" did not remove all the difficulties in the way of Quakers. The Conventicle Act which empowered Justices of the Peace to convict without juries still held sway. If five persons other than the members of a family were present at a house, such was construed as a Conventicle, and each one was to lie in prison for three months, or pay a fine of £5 for the first offence; for the second offence the punishment was six months, or £20 fine; and for the third offence, banishment to any plantation, except New England, or Virginia, or a fine of £100. The rigour of this severe Act was felt in the Welsh counties about 1670. The worst type of man acted as Informer frequently, and the worst magistrates aided them, as did also the clergy. Landowners were the special objects of persecution.

After the release of Charles Lloyd in 1672, the following list of charges<sup>1</sup> will shew what he suffered:—

1673 (Sept. 15). Fined at Welshpool for not attending the parish church.

1675. Ten young beasts taken from him by John Jones of Golynog, attorney and overseer, upon a warrant from David Maurice of Penybont, a malicious informer, who stated that Charles Lloyd had preached within the boundaries of Welshpool, at Cloddiau Cochion, which was false.

1678 (Oct. 11). The high constable of the hundred of Pool (Welshpool) presented him as a dissenter from the Church of England.

1680 (Sept. 2). At the great sessions of Montgomery as an absentee from Church worship.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in *Lloyds of Birmingham* as extracts from Gaol Files, made by Richard Williams, F.R.Hist.S.

1681 (Aug. 29). At the great sessions, Llanfyllin, his name appeared in the list of Quakers presented—Charles Lloyd, Bailiff of Pool—appointed Bailiff to vex him it seems.

1682 (April 24). Great sessions at Pool for not attending Church.

1682 (Oct. 8). For the same cause.

1683 (Aug. 27). For the same cause again.

1685-6 (March 8). The high constable of the Lower Hundred division of Llanfyllin presented him and his wife at Welshpool for not coming to Church.

Charles Lloyd travelled in the ministry even when under *præmunire*. In 1677 he visited Bromyard, where he had a powerful meeting, and some were convinced.<sup>1</sup> Two years before he was concerned about Friends in Penllyn, and with Richard Davies held a meeting at Wern Fawr, the home of Cadwaladr Thomas. During that journey he endeavoured to influence Price of Rhiwlon, and Salisbury of Rug, signatories of warrants for the two informers who had attended a Conventicle where Quakers met. John ap John received a visit from them at that time.

In 1682<sup>2</sup> Charles Lloyd and Davies went through Herefordshire, Worcestershire, etc., visiting Friends on their way to the Yearly Meeting in London. A deputation waited upon Lord Hyde on behalf of the Friends in Bristol. The three from the country were Welshmen—C. Lloyd, R. Davies, and Thomas Wynne. Sir Leoline Jenkins, Hyde's Secretary, during the interview asked what was the Welsh for Quaker, and was answered Crynwr; but said he, "We had no Welsh for it, for there were no Quakers in the Roman days." Charles Lloyd engaged the peevish countryman and added, "There is English, Welsh, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew for Quaker." Jenkins knew the first four languages pretty well, "but if you go to your Hebrew, I know not what to say to you."

1688. Public Meetings were held in several places in Wales during this year, and a report written by Charles Lloyd. He visited Monmouth, Cardiff, Laugharne, Pembroke, Cardigan, Llanidloes, Abergavenny, Brecon, beside other places of lesser note, where no public meetings had been previously held. [MSS., Devonshire House, Portfolio 6, 147.]

Charles Lloyd passed away at Birmingham in 1698 at the house of his daughter and son-in-law, John Pemberton. His second wife, Ann Lawrence of Lea, Herefordshire, who was a

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<sup>1</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Auto. R. Davies*, 1794 Edition, pp. 143-4.

prisoner in Welshpool with him in 1662, survived him ten years. Both were buried at the Friends' burial ground, Bull Lane, leading off Colmere Row, Birmingham.

Lloyd was an able, active, and determined man, nevertheless kindly disposed. His constant prayer was, "Lord, lead me in the paths of righteousness." Before adopting Quaker views he wrote, in conjunction with James Quarrell of Shrewsbury, in 1654, a work entitled, "*Examen et Purgamen Vavasoris*," where he supports the view of the personal reign of Christ. Notable Quakers traced their origin to Charles Lloyd. Two bishops have appeared in the line of his descent—Dr. Wordsworth, Bishop of St. Andrew's, and a Bishop of Salisbury. Dr. Wordsworth's mother was brought up a Quaker, and as he playfully said, "was baptized and married the same day."<sup>1</sup>

THOMAS LLOYD, Dolobrân (1639—1694), like his brother Charles, became interested in Quakerism while a student at Oxford. He visited his brother at Welshpool prison in 1662, and sought to have him released. The following year Thomas Lloyd himself suffered brief imprisonment. In 1664 he and other Friends were arrested on the high road, and for refusing the oath of Allegiance and Supremacy was kept prisoner till the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672. He was marked out for a fine career from the beginning—a fine scholar, noble Christian, and a great statesman. His services as one of the first founders of Pennsylvania are treated with in another part of this work. As debater he acquired for himself a unique position before he removed to the new colony. Both he and Charles his brother discussed Quakerism publicly with the Bishop of St. Asaph in 1680 or 1681. His readiness and fairness won the commendation of the bishop.<sup>2</sup> The sacred office of the ministry attracted him more than the highest office of state. He only entered the latter under pressure.

His first wife was Mary, the daughter of Gilbert Jones, Welshpool. After his release from gaol he lived at Plas Mawr, near Welshpool, where he suffered constant vexation on account of his strong Nonconformist beliefs. On the 7 March, 1675, he spoke a few words at Cloddiau Cochion about true religion and true worship in the presence of the informer, David Maurice, J.P., and a number of armed men, brought thither by Maurice. The wicked informer approved of the doctrine as consonant with the faith of the Church of

<sup>1</sup> After lying in his grave for 153 years, the remains of Charles Lloyd were disturbed by the constructors of the Great Western Railway. His fine skull was seen by one of his descendants, George B. Lloyd.

<sup>2</sup> *Auto. R. Davies*, 1794 Ed., p. 137.



England, nevertheless fined him £20 for preaching, and the owner of Cloddiau Cochion £20, and those present 5/- each.<sup>1</sup>

On 11 Oct., 1678, Thomas Lloyd and his wife were charged at Llanfyllin for non-attendance at the parish Church, and on 2 Sept., 1680, at the Great Sessions, Montgomery, for the same cause.

Well versed in law he rendered valuable service to Friends in England and Wales by shewing the illegality of some sentences. Judge Walcott, who threatened a number of Friends at Bala in 1677 with the death sentence, exacted by *De Heretico Comburendo*, was prevented by Lloyd's timely intervention in London, and the Act was repealed. After his emigration to Pennsylvania, he corresponded with Friends in North Wales. Ten years before his death he wrote to the Dolobran M. Meeting, viz. 1684: "Our meetings are very full, I guess we had no less than 800 last First Day. We are glad to see the face of serviceable Friends here, who will be a blessing to the Province. Providence hath so founded the Government here that a man is at liberty to serve His Maker without contempt, discouragement, or restraint."

His wife died soon after landing in Pennsylvania, and was the first to be buried in the Friends' burial ground (Arch St.), Philadelphia. William Penn spoke tenderly at her funeral. Ten children were born of this marriage. Afterward he married Patience Storey, the widow of a wealthy merchant at New York, a Friend. For some years Lloyd lived at New York, but fulfilled his important duties in Pennsylvania. The responsible duties which he undertook for the welfare of the new Province implied sacrifice, and his circumstances suffered considerably, but he "marched breast forward." Thomas Lloyd was a physician by profession. Died 10 July, 1694, aged 55, and was buried at Philadelphia. The testimony of Haverford M. Meeting is a fine tribute to one of the greatest sons of Wales.<sup>2</sup> His work as statesman is treated under "A Holy Experiment."

Roger Prichard of Almeley, Herefordshire, was a stalwart Quaker from 1671-2 to the end of his days. His conviction took place under the ministry of Charles Marshall, at the house of Morgan Watkins, near Leominster. Peter Price of Radnorslire had a meeting in Prichard's house in June, 1672. John ap John and Richard Davies had a meeting there also, as we noticed in the account of John ap John. Prichard came to Llanfyllin from Ireland in 1658, and was then supposed to be a Quaker, but he relapsed. Richard

<sup>1</sup> Other fines and distresses are notified.

<sup>2</sup> Vide copy in *Lloyds of Birmingham*, pp. 17-19.

Davies visited him there. Prichard built a fine meeting house<sup>1</sup> on his own land at his own expense, and presented it and a burial ground to Friends. He was fined in 1673 for the sum of £20, for a meeting at his house on the 27th January, and was imprisoned at Hereford for nine weeks for refusing to pay small tithes. A neighbour paid the money to the priest unawares, hence he was released. Edward Prichard his son, was also a loyal Quaker. Richard Davies was deeply interested in that part of the county, and was often at Prichard's place. "Come," said the people of the village when they saw Richard Davies, "let us go to Mr. Prichard's, for we shall have prayers there to-night." "The Lord blessed him in his basket and in his store, and his heart and house were open to Friends." John Kelsale<sup>2</sup> went from the Yearly Meeting for Wales, which was held in a large barn at Presteign in 1722-3 to Roger Prichard at Almeley to lodge.

Morgan Watkins, of the Grange, Wigmor, received the Quaker ministers, Alexander Parker and Edward Edwards. He was a strength to many in those parts. From 1670-1684 (3rd month) he had a meeting at his house, in the parish of Eyton, near the town, whither he had removed.<sup>3</sup>

The first public meeting in the town of Leominster was held in the close of William Morgans, a free-will Baptist, on 8, II., 1656.<sup>4</sup>

David Edwards kept a meeting at his house for several years up to 1663.<sup>5</sup>

William Perkins, a tanner of Bromyard, was visited by John ap John and Richard Davies in 1668, when Friends from Leominster attended. Charles Loyd, Dolobran, was there also, where he had a powerful meeting.<sup>6</sup>

The names of many Welshmen appear in the lists of the various meetings in the County of Hereford. At that time Welsh was known in certain districts.

In Inksbatch (English batch), Somersetshire, one of the first Quakers was John Evans.<sup>7</sup> His wife, Catherine Evans, was a great traveller. She suffered much with S. Cheevers in Malta, three and a half years (1659-1662). Sewell<sup>8</sup> informs us that Catherine Evans was imprisoned in 1666 at Welshpool for refusing to swear.

<sup>1</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, 113. *Autobiography of R. Davies*, pp. 110, 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Diary of John Kelsale*, under date of 1722-3.

<sup>3</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, pp. 113, 117, 118. *Vide* account of his books under *Literature*.

<sup>4</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 117.

<sup>5</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 118, 119.

<sup>6</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, 121-123.

<sup>7</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, pp. 227, 228.


<sup>8</sup> Sewell's *History of the People called Quakers*, p. 618.

## III.

**Sufferings, Principles, and Penal Laws—Bishop Lloyd and Lord Herbert.**

“We make no Apology for the plainness of our style ; a composure of this nature, requiring no embellishment either of art or elegance : wherefore disregarding the censures of critics, this collection of the Sufferings of a plain, honest, and conscientious people is recommended to the serious and weighty consideration of judicious and Christian Enquirers.”—Joseph Besse, Preface to *Sufferings of the People called Quakers*, p. lv.

## SUFFERINGS.

HE sufferings of the Welsh Quakers shock the modern Christian mind. Their doctrine of non-resistance was cruelly exploited by their persecutors. The name Quaker, given by Judge Gervase Bennet, in 1650, was synonymous with “law-breaker” and “traitor” for many years, but the Quakers bore all indignities with meekness. They blessed those who cursed them, and prayed for those who spitefully used them. To those who smote them on one cheek they turned the other, and the persecutors who took away the cloak were not forbidden to take also the coat. The word was literally fulfilled, “Give to every man that asketh of thee, and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again.” History provides heroic examples of people who have suffered for Christianity from its first promulgation. Great were the sufferings of the three or four score bishops sent into the island of Sardinia by the African vandals ; fearful were the privations of the two hundred ministers banished by Ferdinand, King of Bohemia ; cruel was the plight of German ministers on account of an Imperial interim ; hard was the lot of those Scottish ministers led by Dr. Chalmers ; what unspeakable hardships were endured by the two thousand clergy ejected from their benefices in our country in 1662 ; but no chapter in history is more terrible than that of suffering Quakers between 1655—1690. Welshmen are ever ready to suffer for an ideal, especially a religious ideal ; and when the persecution of Quakers began, they were not found wanting in courage and determination to hold fast unto the profession of their faith. In the declaration delivered to the Speaker of the House of Commons, 6 April, 1659, which contained

the names of 164 Quakers who offered their bodies instead of those that were then in prison, in danger of succumbing to their long and extreme durance, several Welsh names may be seen, such as Richard Davis, Joseph Jones, Rice Jones, Richard Lewis, and Thomas Reece. Richard Davies of Welshpool would have entered Cardigan gaol as substitute for Thomas Ellis, but, fortunately, the prisoner was released, while Davies was on his way thither.

In Wales the sufferings were intense and continuous for several decades, as we see by the list of prisoners which we have arranged under the different counties, with date, and cause of imprisonment. The names of the first Welsh Quakers are preserved not in any library but in gaol files.

Outside Wales, in places like Bristol, and London, many Welshmen suffered imprisonment, and not a few the loss of goods. Lewis Rogers, with two other Quakers, were thrust on board a ship named "*Mary Fortune*," at Bristol, in 1664, to be transported, without trial, to another country. Luckily there were Welshmen in charge of the vessel, who refused to rob a Britisher of his liberty—John Lloyd, Philip Phillips, and Thomas Hughes. Several from South Wales were sent to Bridewell. The dreaded Little Ease hole in a rock, Chester, was sometimes made the chamber of torture for the Quakers in the northern part of the Principality.

In this age some people hate the thought of recapitulating the sufferings of former generations in the cause of religion. As a rule they are like the indifferent Gallio, who care not for any of those things which appertain to the story of religious freedom. We would not wittingly offend the taste of such fastidious people, but the truth and freedom we possess to-day were not secured without agonizing suffering. The Mayor of Lancaster, Henry Porter, told George Fox in 1660, when brought before him a prisoner, from the house of Margaret Fell, Swarthmore, "You are a disturber of the nation." The answer made by the founder echoed in every Quaker heart: "I have been a blessing to the nation in and through the Lord's power and truth, and the Spirit of God in all consciences will answer it." Many magistrates in Wales falsely accused Quakers of being disturbers of the peace, but they gladly suffered for the honour of the great and glorious Name. Sufferings, instead of diminishing their numbers increased them, and they appeared everywhere as Fox said, "like butterflies on a warm day in a glen."

Between 1655—1690 hundreds were committed to prison in North and South Wales, and hosts were served with distresses for tithes and Church repairs. The charges enumerated against them are such as the following:—Disturbing the



priest during worship, calling the priest by opprobrious names, addressing the priest in the street, refusing to pay tithes, Church rates, and levies for the Militia; absence from Church worship on Sunday, refusing to take the oath of allegiance, refusing to swear, meeting in conventicles, keeping places of business open on Festival days, such as Christmas. Welshmen were imprisoned at Haverfordwest and Tregaron for refusing to put off their hats at the law Court and Church. Five men died in prison in Wales during this period. Edward Evans, an infirm man, died in the Gaol at Montgomery in 1662. Three years later Humphrey Wilson died in the same place of a distemper owing to the coldness of the prison. Hugh Lloyd, in 1666, died at Haverfordwest Gaol for his testimony against swearing. Thomas Hammond, of Montgomery, confined for a trifling tithe at the suit of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and Robert Jones, priest, of Berriew and Montgomery, died on 28 Jan., 1675, after being ill for some time. In his illness he appealed for his liberty, but in vain. He left a widow and four children. Edward Rice of Dolgelley died during a severe frost, an old man, on 17th Dec., 1676.

In Breconshire a peculiar case of prosecution has been recorded. In 1670, William Davies of Talgarth and Philip Williams were imprisoned for burying their dead in a burial ground which their Friends had purchased, and used for that purpose. An attorney who lived near, named Lewis Morgan, an active agent in this case, threatened to have the bodies exhumed.

### PRINCIPLES.

Quakerism did not consider for a moment popular prejudices and human laws. Its motive was liberty according to an enlightened conscience—liberty to do the right without let or hindrance. Although it refrained from carnal weapons, yet its spiritual warfare was waged with unflinching zeal and heroism. It was prepared to suffer the loss of all things for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus in the soul. The tranquility of Quakers in the midst of the most fierce persecutions and most cruel sufferings compelled their enemies to confess an utter inability to comprehend them. From a spiritual view-point, Quaker witnessing was consistently brave and beautiful. The leading tenets of their faith are to-day the common heritage of Free Christians.

The following summary of the principal points of their Nonconformity may assist us to understand why they suffered so much at the hands of the law :—

1. Refusal to pay tithes and Church rates. Tithes were a Jewish institution, which were cancelled by the advent of

Christ, and the Levitical priesthood had been superseded by the priesthood of believers. Christ and His Apostles never sanctioned the payment of tithes, hence it was the duty of all Christians to stand in that liberty wherein Christ had made them free. *Church Rates* were also unjust, for a consecrated building to them was superstition. Assessments for places of worship, whose form they did not believe in, were charges which they could not meet with a good conscience. (The priest was more concerned with claiming his dues from Quakers than with the propagation of the true religion in which they were interested.)

2. Refusal to swear, based upon the words of Christ, "Swear not at all," which they would not transgress. For constancy to this article of their faith certain positions in life were denied to them, and their sufferings for loyalty meant bonds, banishments, imprisonment, and death.

3. Refusal to take off the hat by way of respect to men and buildings. The omission of this "hat-in-hand" custom was deemed a contempt, for which Quakers were frequently fined and imprisoned.

4. Their resolve to meet for the worship of God in a manner agreeable to their conscience, from which nothing could prevent them. Because their places for meeting were known, their adversaries could always lay hands upon them. Their heroism when arrested frequently astonished the enemy.

5. Their determination to witness, whenever moved, of the spirit against vice, immorality, and other sins, in streets and markets, churches and courts. Magistrates, instead of defending them for endeavouring to purify social life, supported those who abused them for their services.

6. Their refusal to engage priests or ministers for marriage, burial, or baptism, incensed the priests because they were thus deprived of their fees. Ecclesiastical Courts appear in a terrible light on account of the injustice meted to innocent persons. Many Welsh people were excommunicated, and then imprisoned on Writs *de excommunicato Capiendo* during the pleasure of the Holy Church. In this way many Quakers were buried alive. Nothing would have pleased some ecclesiastics more than to place all Welsh Quakers in *præmunire*. Richard Davies states, "Our Friends in this county of Montgomery were most of us under a sentence of *Praemunire* for many years. Our Friend, Charles Lloyd, was not suffered to see his own house for several years, although it was but five miles from Welshpool, where he was kept a prisoner. And as for myself, I had the name of being a prisoner on the same account for about seven years, but was not kept close prisoner in all that time, but had my freedom and liberty to

be at London, and in other places of the nation, as my service was, and as the Lord made way for me. In this time I visited Friends pretty much in their sufferings." (*R. Davies*, p. 127.) Richard Davies, who visited George Fox in Worcester Gaol in 1674 told him of Thomas Corbet, a counsellor in London. Corbet, at the instigation of Davies, took up the case of Fox, and, as a result of his defence, it was decided that, by law, they could not imprison upon a *præmunire*. Davies writes, "I was then of a mind, and still am, that the hand of the Lord was in it, more than the wit and cunning of man; for that trial put an end to all the *præmunires* in the nation."

7. Their testimony against fighting and wars, because they were not consistent with the injunctions of Christ, "Love your enemies," and "Do good to them that hate you," subjected them to the arbitrary wills of the Military. They refused to bear arms or to hire substitutes. Many Welshmen were fined and imprisoned as a result of their witness.

The foregoing were the chief causes of their dissent, for which they suffered patiently great privations. The best comment on the results of these terrible sufferings, and the effect produced upon the Quaker character, is the truly beautiful letter written by the Clerk of the Yearly Meeting, William Humphreys, Llanegryn, to the Yearly Meeting in London, dated 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2<sup>mo</sup>, 1685 (*Besse's Sufferings*, Book I., pp., 760-1.)

## PENAL LAWS.

Welsh Quakers came in contact with the law of the land in various ways. The following shews what laws operated against them:—

1. *Plotting against the Government*.—Richard Davies, Welshpool, supplies a typical instance of charges under this Act (p. 80). In 1662, after a great convincement, meetings at Welshpool were very full. The magistrates resolved to break up the meeting, and one Sunday, Thomas Corbet, a counsellor and justice of the peace in the county, two bailiffs of the town, the sergeants-at-mace and under officers, entered for that purpose. When they came in, Richard Davies was engaged in prayer. As soon as he finished they took down the name of those present. When they had concluded Richard Davies's wife told Corbet that all the names had not been taken. "Who is untaken" he asked. She put out her babe towards him, about three months old. "That is under age," he said. Her answer was arresting, "We are all as innocent from plotting, contriving, or thinking any harm to any man as this little child." This remark smote Corbet and others

present, but it did not prevent Richard Davies, Thomas Lloyd, and Samuel Lloyd, from being committed to the sergeant's house.

2. *Proceedings under the Blasphemy and Heresies Act, 1650.*—In Cardiff, people were imprisoned on a warrant for calling priests "dumb dogs," and "hirelings." Justices might commit to prison all such as should proclaim and maintain that the two Sacraments—Baptism and the Lord's Supper—were not ordinances commanded by the Word of God, or that the baptising of infants was unlawful and void, or that the Churches of England were no true Churches, or that their ministers and ordinances were not true ministers and ordinances, or that man was bound to believe no more than his reason could comprehend, etc.

3. *For refusing the Oath of Abjuration.*

4. *Vagrancy.*—Several were punished under this Act, which was grossly misconstrued. Reputable persons were whipped, and then given a pass.

5. *Travelling on the Lord's Day.* One was prosecuted under this law, but he did not walk more than the distance between his home and the place of meeting.

6. *Disturbing ministers and refusing honour to magistrates.*—The punishment for disturbing a preacher during his sermon was three months imprisonment. Many enthusiastic Welsh Quakers could not wait till the priest had finished his discourse, with the result that they had to appear in court. The dock, not infrequently, became a pulpit, effective and successful. During the Commonwealth, contempt of the ministry was considered a great crime. Quakers, under the law of the Commonwealth, suffered much as disturbers of public worship. The denunciations of ministers by zealous Friends, who called them "hirelings, false prophets," and "deceivers," provoked great opposition and disorder. Many of them in Wales, at the beginning, did not suffer for righteousness' sake, but because of their own extreme folly.

7. *Tithes and Ecclesiastical demands.*—Some of the Acts and ordinances of the Long Parliament gave justices the power to determine cases of tithes. In Wales, treble damages were given, which amounted sometimes to ten times the original demand.

8. *Refusing the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy.*—This proved a convenient way of getting a Quaker into prison. Every Quaker could be imprisoned on this charge.

9. *Non-attendance at Church.*—Scores of Quakers in each county, with the exception of Carnarvon and Anglesey, were distressed for violation of this law. As many as thirty-two were excommunicated in the year 1660 for this offence.



Excommunication meant the forfeiture of many goods, and long terms of imprisonment in some instances.

10. In the Restoration period three special Acts were passed against the Quakers. The Act of 1662, known as the Quaker Act, and the Conventicle Acts of 1664 and 1670. According to W. C. Braithwaite, in *First Publishers of Truth* (p. 356), the Corporation Act of 1661, the Act of Uniformity 1662, and Five Mile Act 1665, hardly affected the Quakers.

11. *Finding a man for the Militia or paying towards the County Levy*.—Francis Gawler sought the opinion of George Fox in a letter from Cardiff, 26 Nov., 1659, about service in the Militia. John Gawler, his brother, a justice, had received a commission to be Lieutenant-Colonel to Bushey Mansel of Briton Ferry. If Fox said that John Gawler should not meddle with it then most likely he would refrain. If free, a word would be welcome. Mansel was a loving man to Friends, and anxious to have them in his regiment. John Gawler was ready and willing to act, and preferred Friends as officers. "But Friends," adds the writer, "are not free to meddle with it, only Matthew Gibbon hath partly engaged to become a captain, and another a private soldier, of whom we are tender knowing he hath no bad end in it, but think he may be serviceable for truth in it." (*First Publishers of Truth*, p. 324.)

12. *The Toleration Act*, Act. 1. W. & Mary, St. 1., Cap 18. Although this Act granted substantial toleration, nevertheless, several disabilities remained.

There were altogether seventeen Acts under which it was possible to penalise Quakers.

Although Liberty of Conscience was declared by Cromwell in Parliament on 12 Sept., 1654, nevertheless, the Quakers suffered for conscience' sake in all parts of Wales. It has been said that the Quakers were never punished for their religion, but they were punished mercilessly for the forms in which their religion manifested itself. In the days of Cromwell, discussions in Churches were frequent, but the Quakers were denied the privilege of discussions. Public discussions in Churches were not allowed after 1660. A Christian exhortation when the priest had finished was construed as a disturbance of him in his office. Even an honest testimony in the street, or market place, against sin was a breach of the peace. Imprisonment, fines, and the spoiling of goods, followed the public witnessing of Quakers. The furious opposition evoked by them is the sincerest tribute unto their efficacy. George Fox said, "There was never any persecution

that came, but we saw in the event that it would be productive of good, nor were there ever any prisons that I was in, or sufferings which I endured, but it was for bringing multitudes out of prison." "Truth," he added, "was scarcely anywhere to be found but in gaol."

In "A brief account of many of the Prosecutions of the People called Quakers, in the Exchequer, Ecclesiastical, and other Courts," published about the year 1736, we find many references to Welsh sufferers. The clergy of St. David's Diocese, three years later endeavoured to contradict several of the statements contained in the portion relating to them, but their examination denied not the persecution. Dr. Thomas Rees of Swansea's comment is apt: "Hundreds of the Welsh clergy of that age could not refer to a single *soul* that they had been the means of converting from the error of his way, but many could refer to *bodies* incarcerated, and families ruined by them for non-payment of Church rates, tithes, and other strange claims.<sup>1</sup>" Not a bed was left to some poor Quakers; farmers were deprived of their stores of corn, hay, and cattle; many of them had no milk for their children, or bread, or horses for ploughing. Some were deprived even of their working tools.

The ferocity of the persecutions was over before 1685, nevertheless, in the petition sent to James II. on 2 March, 1685, there were thirty Quakers in Welsh prisons.

The names of those who suffered for religious freedom deserve remembrance. If they failed to realize their great spiritual ideal they succeeded in idealizing the real for the benefit of succeeding generations. They laboured, and we have entered into their heritage. The warfare of ideas still goes on, but we who strive derive much inspiration from our study of those heroic Quakers who stood a solid phalanx four-square to all the storms of persecution. Their magnificent stand humbles us, for what in comparison are our modern difficulties with those which they encountered and overcame. The Divine courage in them forbad the toleration of wickedness. They protested with their voices, but their noblest protest of all was their sober and sweet life of consecration. "Stars shout not, they shine," says the poet, and the Welsh Quakers shone like stars in the dark firmament of their native land. George Fox, in his Journal, records that drunkenness, immorality, and robbery were rife.

In our record of the sufferings of Welsh Quakers we have endeavoured to trace them through the different administrations of government—Oliver and Richard Cromwell, the

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<sup>1</sup> *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, p. 281.

Council of State, Charles II. (their sufferings were terrible during this reign in spite of Charles's Declaration of Liberty of Conscience at Breda), and King James II. As imprisonments decreased, the spoiling of goods increased.

### BISHOP LLOYD AND WELSH QUAKERS.

When Dr. William Lloyd, of St. Martin's, London, became Bishop of St. Asaph, ecclesiastical persecution was harsh in many places in the diocese because of excommunication and the £20 per month statute. Bishop Lloyd believed that by being mild with the Nonconformists, and entering into discussions with them, he would effect their return to the Established Church. On visiting Welshpool he sent for the most prominent Quakers. The brothers, Charles and Thomas Lloyd, Dolobrán, had conference with him, but Richard Davies could not attend on account of a journey to London. The bishop desired to see Davies and was displeased at his absence. Charles and Thomas Lloyd talked with the bishop and his chaplains and other clergy for about twelve hours, from two in the afternoon till two in the morning. They also discussed with him at Llanfyllin for two days in the Town Hall publicly, from two o'clock till nightfall the first day, and from ten in the morning till an hour in the night, the second day. The subjects discussed at Welshpool and Llanfyllin were separation, general principles of Christendom, the apostles examples of baptism, with once "a small touch of the bread and wine."

On the last day, Thomas Lloyd gave the reasons why Quakers separated from the Church of England. 1. Because their worship was not a gospel worship; 2. because their ministry was no gospel ministry; 3. because their ordinances were no gospel ordinances. The debate was not fair to the Quakers, for no notice was given before hand of the subjects that would be raised.

Thomas Lloyd was compelled to consider "twenty-eight syllogisms," to be answered impromptu. The Bishop declared that he was surprised so much could be said by any one on the subject on such short notice. He was pleased with the civility manifested by the Quakers, and praised greatly Thomas Lloyd. Commendation from the Bishop was distinctive, for he himself was a ready debater, and a fine Biblical scholar. Moreover, there were present at the Town Hall, Llanfyllin, the Dean of Bangor, (later Bishop of Hereford), the Chancellor of St. Asaph, Henry Dodwell, many clergymen, several justices of the peace and deputy-lieutenants, and a large number of people. The validity of

water baptism was weakened considerably by the arguments of Thomas Lloyd, according to some of the clergy present and other noted men. The proceedings of this memorable debate were not published, as agreed by both sides, but the masterly manner in which Thomas Lloyd handled the various subjects created a favourable impression.

On his return from London, Richard Davies took Thomas Wynne, of Caerwys, with him to see the Bishop at his palace. The secretary would have Davies say, "my Lord Bishop," but the Quaker denied him the title of "lord," but bishop he owned, as it meant an overseer. Davies was a prisoner upon the writ *De Excommunicato Capiendo* at the time, and carried a letter from Lord Hyde to the Bishop, procured for him by his friend, William Penn. The Bishop called Davies and Wynne into his room, where the Dean of Bangor and a number of clergymen were seated. He appeared to be displeased because Davies was not present at his Llanfyllin debate. They disputed on the subject of baptism till late at night. Davies went with Wynne to Caerwys over night, and returned to the palace in the morning, where the contentious debate on water baptism was resumed. From baptism the discussion turned to ordination and apostolical succession, and Davies exclaimed that he thought he should have to send them to Rome for their succession and ordination. "Yes," was the answer, "the ordination might be good though it came from Rome." The Dean of Bangor said, that if a malefactor were condemned to death, and were reprieved, the pardon would be good, though it came down by the hangman's hand. Like a flash Davies added, "Then *your* ordination comes not by the Spirit and power of God." To the Bishop he quoted Ps. xxvi. verse 6, and said, "Thou canst not say thou wilt wash thy hands in innocency, nor compass the altar of God while thy writs remain against so many innocent people willing to suffer till death for the testimony of their consciences towards God." Richard Davies declared, "if I go to prison on this account I shall have more peace there than thou shalt have in thy palace; and suppose another prince should arise that would impose something upon thee that thou couldst not do for conscience sake, what wouldst thou do?" Bishop Lloyd replied, "Then I will go to Pennsylvania also," The courageous champion of religious liberty from Welshpool added: "Though thy head be grey, yet thou mayest live to see liberty of conscience in England." Just then it seemed far removed, as outward appearances went. The Bishop decided to write to the Chancellor for the liberty of Davies, but Davies was not content to be free while his Friends were in prison, so



the Bishop wrote to the Chancellor to stay the execution of the writ. Hereupon Davies produced Lord Hyde's letter, which astonished the Bishop, for he had already granted the contents of it. Through this intervention the Quakers in the diocese of St. Asaph were relieved from further molestation on that account, and those in prison before were liberated. Between the Mizpah of prayer, and the Shen of Philistine defeat, the Quakers raised their Ebenezer, saying, the Lord hath helped us.

While several bishops were unmerciful and persecuting, Bishop Lloyd was found charitable on many occasions, and Richard Davies records his gratitude to him for many kind acts done to Quakers. At Llanfyllin, Davies approached the Bishop on behalf of his son-in-law, Jacob Endon, who was to be prosecuted by four peevish churchwardens of Welshpool for refusing to pay toward the repairs of the Church. The Bishop called the churchwardens, and told them that a clause, which he himself had drafted, was inserted in an Act of Parliament, whereby it was easier to recover by distress than by driving to excommunications. Davies handed him a copy of the Act, and the Bishop read the clause to the wardens: "Why will you go to the charge of a warrant? Cannot you go and take a pewter dish, or some other thing near the value? I warrant *they* will never sue you for it, for we must do unto them, as we would be done unto if we were in their condition." Thus the persecutions were speedily dismissed. Davies and his family were not troubled again about Church repairs.

Bishop Lloyd, at the request of Davies, through Dr. Wynne, a chancellor of St. Asaph, secured the discharge of Richard Davies, Rhuddallt, Ruabon, who was a prisoner for his Nonconformity. Dr. Wynne, a fair-minded man, rendered several kindnesses of this nature.

Davies desired the Bishop to write to the Bishop of Peterborough on behalf of one Timothy Burberoughs of Aino, on the Hill, Northamptonshire, who had been sent to gaol by the parish priest of Aino for tithes, after taking almost everything from him. Bishop Lloyd's kindly intervention succeeded in getting his discharge.

When Bishop Lloyd removed to the See of Worcester, Richard Davies kept in touch with him, and in 1700, brought before his notice some remarkable cases of persecutions among Worcestershire Quakers. Kerry, a covetous priest of Tredington, was summoned before Bishop Lloyd for cruel distresses and imprisonment. Robert Grimes and W. Banbury had died prisoners. John Fowler, Banbury's widow, William Sankey, and William Catrill, who kept school at

Worcester without a license, received better treatment after Davies had laid their cases before Dr. Lloyd. Quakers who had been prisoners for four or five years in Lancaster Castle for a small tithe by the Dean and Chapter of Worcester, were discharged by Bishop Lloyd at the request of Richard Davies. When King James, in 1688, issued a declaration for liberty of conscience, and ordered the bishops to send it to their Churches to be read, Bishop Lloyd and six other bishops refused to obey the royal command, because it was arbitrary, and not in accordance with law, for which the seven bishops were imprisoned in the Tower of London. Richard Davies visited Dr. Lloyd in the Tower, and was reminded of his prophetic words in 1681, "and I could wish I were in Pennsylvania now myself," added the Bishop. Davies had before told the Bishop that the Church of Rome was a false church because she was a persecuting church, and he (the Bishop) was made to suffer under a law directed against popish recusants. By the same argument the Church of England was a false church because of her persecution. The Bishop answered that they "did not consider nor know it then, as they did now." This visit reveals the disposition of the heroic Quaker of Welshpool as well as any incident in his adventurous life. He was singularly free from bitterness and animosity. (Richard Davies, edition 1799, pp. 135, 136, 140-43, 159, 161, 166.).

#### LORD HERBERT AND THE QUAKERS.

Edward, Lord Herbert, Baron of Cherbury, a descendant of the "father of Deism in England," came into conflict with Quakers in Montgomeryshire in 1662. He was a man of liberal views and great powers, but did not possess any of the mysticism of the saintly George Herbert. Baron Cherbury sent six Quakers, who appeared before him at his house at Llyssin, to gaol at Welshpool, for attending meetings at Cadwaladr Edwards's place and Dolobrán in the year 1662. Charles Lloyd, the proprietor of Dolobrán, was one of the six committed (*Rich. Davies*, p. 53). Thomas Lloyd, Dolobrán, and Richard Davies were moved to visit justices who had committed Quakers to gaol. They began near Machynlleth and came to Llyssin. Richard Davies supplies us with a vivid picture of the Baron and his Chaplain, a man named Jones, on his bowling green. The priest was the worse for drink. The Baron asked the priest who was with him, and he answered, "A Quaker and haberdasher of hats, that lives in Welshpool." This answer was too good for the worldly wit of Baron Cherbury to let slip without a sally: "Oh, I

thought he was such an one, he keeps his hat so fast upon his block." (*R. Davies*, p. 61). He was pleased to accept the help of the "hatter" to come down a steep place, for he was a heavy man, rather than the priest. "Here is a brother that stands by who will say, the blind leads the blind, and both will fall into the ditch." As a result of the interview, the prisoners had greater liberty to move about, although not discharged.

When John David, alias Pugh, a weaver, and tenant of the gaoler turned informer, and desired a warrant of Lord Herbert of Cherbury against the Quakers, he was asked, "What did the Quakers do?" "They preached." "Where?" "In my house" (which was their prison). "Let them preach there," was the rejoinder, "as long as they will, what have I to say to them?" Then the informer complained of a meeting at Cloddiau Cochion. "Were they not prisoners?" "Yes." "What do they do at Cloddiau Cochion? Do they preach there?" "No," was the reply, "they sit down and look one upon another." The informer was reprimanded: "Thou art but a fool, the Quakers are a loving people; they went to visit their children, and to eat bread and cheese with them." The despoiler was not willing to yield, and asked again for a warrant, when Baron Cherbury, in hot indignation, said, "Is it not sufficient to put my peaceable neighbours in prison? Must I give a warrant to make such a rogue as this is, rich, by ruining them and their families?" Thus the Baron prevented this wicked man from carrying out his cruel design. (*R. Davies*, p. 113).

## IV.

**Sufferers, Meeting-Houses, Burial-places,  
Emigrants, in each of the Welsh Counties.****MONMOUTHSHIRE.**

QUAKERISM prospered in Monmouthshire side by side with the denominations of the Independents and Baptists. Llanvaches, the home of the first Independent Church in South Wales, and Llanwenarth, a stronghold of sturdy Baptists, occupy foremost places in the history of Religion in Wales. Fierce controversies raged at both places concerning established religion, and the ordinance of baptism. Quakerism captured many from both denominations. To-day the Baptists appear to be carrying on the work chiefly in those districts where Quakers once flourished: Mamhilad, Llangibby, Winastow, Llanfrechfa, Llanfihangel Ystern Llewern, Cwmcarvan, Abergavenny, Marshfield, Llanedern, Trefethin, Goytre, beside the places noticed later.

Walter Jenkins, Richard Hanbury, Elisha Beadles, Evan Bevan, and Philip Leonard were outstanding Quakers and faithful pioneers. Monmouthshire did not supply many emigrants.

**SUFFERERS.**

1658. Elizabeth Holme and Alice Birkett conducted a meeting at the house of Walter Watkins, Shire Newton, Monmouthshire, where they also lodged. That night the people caused an uproar about the house, and the following day the two women were taken before the justices, who made a pass to send them away as vagrants, but could not execute it because they were conscious of their innocence. At Llanvaches, Elizabeth Holme was subjected to abusive treatment by rude people. Henry Walter and Sims were not guiltless in this affair. Later, Elizabeth Holme and Alice Birkett were haled out of Newport Church and taken to the Bridge, where they were kept prisoners for some time.

Francis Gawler, Edward Edwards, and Elizabeth Holme were taken from a meeting at Shire Newton before three



justices—John Nicholas, William Blethyn, and Robert Jones. Their examination, before many people, reveals how well they defended their cause. They had broken no law, neither had they disturbed the minister. Walter Jenkins was not present at the meeting. Justice Nicholas: "Walter Jenkins was here the last time, and his voice was heard then." Answer, "That which thou dost question us for is meeting together *now*." They were questioned about the Word of God. Justice Nicholas said, "You have profited by our ministers. Do you not know that the presence of God went with them?" The answer was, "There was a time when the presence of God went with some of them, and in that time they did bear witness against Tithes, Types, Figures, and Shadows, saying, Christ was come and hath set an end to Tithes; and some of them durst not receive them for conscience sake, the which now they receive and plead for, and receive hundreds by the year by it: therefore the presence of God is withdrawn from them, whom we deny, and by their fruits they are known." Justice Nicholas: "We will let them alone to plead for themselves." Answer: "Do so, and let them fight for their God; and our weapons shall not be carnal but spiritual."

*Justice Jones*: "You say the Light shines in the heart, which gives the knowledge of God in the face of Jesus Christ, and in so doing you add to the Scripture." *Answer*: "We say the Light shines in the heart, which gives the knowledge of God in the face of Jesus Christ, and if thou deniest it, it lies upon us to prove it" *Justice Jones*. "Yes." Francis Gawler quoted 2 Cor. iv., and disproved the assertion. The justice confessed before the people, "You are in the right and we were mistaken." After this interesting examination, the three Friends were kept for some time in an alehouse hard by, and were liberated. The people followed them from the house of the justice, and at the alehouse they declared the Truth unto them, which was attentively heard.

Thomas Holme, for speaking to the priest at Usk Church (Caerwent), was by order of the Justices put in prison. John Brown, on visiting him, was detained,<sup>1</sup> but on the following day both were sent away with a pass.

Walter Watkins and his wife, of Shire Newton, were sent to Usk gaol for tithes, valued 20s., by a priest.

Meredith Edward was imprisoned at the County Gaol, Usk, for speaking to a priest. On another occasion he was brought before a Justice of the Peace, Robert Thomas, who would not permit him to speak, but seized him by the throat

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<sup>1</sup> Francis Gawler states that Brown was imprisoned, and that Holme was the visitor.

and struck him, and afterwards sent him to Bridewell by a warrant. His crime was, "Calling Griffith David, a minister, thief and hireling, and denying the Lord's Supper." In Bridewell the keeper whipped Meredith Edward cruelly at the instigation of the priest. This priest was later caught by some neighbours marking their sheep as his own.

1659. A labourer, John Thomas, of Goldcliffe, was appointed constable; but although he refused not the office, yet he refused to take the oath, for which he was sent to prison and kept there for four months, to the detriment of his family.

1660. On 31 Jan., 1660, at night, Walter Jenkins, John Williams, Philip William, and Charles Jenkins were forced out of bed. Their doors were forced open by cavalry, several of whom were Papists. Coffers and trunks were opened by force, pretending to search for arms. Although none was found, these innocent men were driven through the mire to an old castle, where they were kept till the morning. Then the captain ordered some rude soldiers to take them to Monmouth. The Mayor of Monmouth gave them the oath, which they refused to take. They were committed to gaol, a filthy place, and detained till the town sessions, and upon refusing the oath again were recommitted. William John, who was taken from the field, was also kept in gaol at Monmouth. The keeper removed them all from the filthy prison to his own house, but not before they were all sick.

William Dawson, of Monmouth, haberdasher, Thomas Morris, Walter John, John Rosser, and Thomas Mortimer were seized by constables on the highway, although going about their own business. Upon refusing to swear, they were lodged in the dungeon at Usk prison. This reveals how terrible the persecution was about 1660.

1662. Charles Jenkins, of Cwmcarnvan, was kept in Usk Gaol for seven months for refusing to pay the tithe. Matthew Gibbon and Philip Williams were fellow prisoners with him. Philip Williams suffered imprisonment for several years, although he had five motherless children. The tithe he refused was of trifling value. Peter Lee, of Henstock, lay in prison for nearly two years for £1 10s. tithe.

1668. William Dawson and Roger Scudamore, of Monmouth, were sent to gaol for shops open on Christmas Day.

1672. Anthony Ridley and Lewis Thomas were liberated from Monmouth Gaol.

John Read and Thomas Arnold, of this county, were among the first in Wales to suffer for refusing to pay tithes. Read lost a cow worth £4 in 1656, and Arnold goods worth £4 for a demand of £1 2s.

# MEETING HOUSES.

## PANT, LLANFIHANGEL YSTERN LLEWERN.

Walter Jenkins,<sup>1</sup> son of Thomas Jenkins, rector of the parish, was convinced of the Truth by John ap John, as witnessed in the section on "Sufferings." Walter Jenkins, the proprietor of the Pant, endured grievous treatment. In 1657 he was with George Fox at Brecon, where a great meeting was held. His daughter and heiress married John Beadles, a Quaker. Contrary to the principles of his sect, Beadles entered his pedigree at the Herald's Visitation in 1683, claiming descent from Sir Capel Bedel, but the herald, somewhat doubtful of the accuracy, added a note qualifying the pedigree. Walter Jenkins wrote a devotional book in 1660, *The Law . . . out of Zion*. Elisha Beadles, his grandson, translated it into Welsh. The Pant continued in the Beadles family till the latter end of the eighteenth century, when Henry Allen, of Bath, bought it. The present proprietor is Col. J. A. Bradney, Talycoed, Monmouth, who in a letter writes: "If ever you are in this neighbourhood I should like to shew you the Pant, which belongs to me, and is one of the oldest houses in this district. I took considerable pains to repair it and preserve all the old features. The room on the ground floor of the brick building (on the left as you look at the picture), where the Quakers had their meetings, is called locally The Chapel." It is now let as a farm house. Part of the house is ancient, of "timber work with brick nogging." On a beam in the kitchen are the initials of I. B., 1687 (John Beadles).

George White, an Independent minister of Llan. Ystern Llewern, became a Quaker. George White was placed in charge of Ll. Ystern Llewern in 1648. His conversion to Quakerism is proved by a return made at the request of the Archbishop when the Conventicle Act was revived in 1669. Thus, "Pantteg, at the house of Richard Hanbury, Number 40, 50, 60, and sometimes more. Teachers, George White, of Llanfihangel Ystern Llewern, and sometimes the said Richard Hanbury." [See Dr. Rees's *Hist. of Prot. Non. in Wales*, p. 172.]

Although the Quakers are extinct in the Pant district, nevertheless, the tenant of Pant, Evan Price, a lay preacher, and others carry on an excellent work among the young at Talycoed Baptist Chapel. Price takes an intelligent interest in the old Quaker spot.

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Hist. of Mon.* by Col. J. A. Bradney, Vol. I., p. 130, for a good account of the Quaker settlement at Pant.

The burial ground is in an orchard adjoining the Pant house. Once it was surrounded by a brick wall, and £2 10s. charged on Parc Grace Dieu devoted to its upkeep. The payment lapsed and the walls disappeared. Several stones used to be there, but now only two remain—that of Walter Jenkins, died 30, v., 1661.

“ Walter Jenkins lyeth buried here  
Whose heart to God was found sincere  
As by a vision did appear  
From Him who love his soul full deere  
This burying place contrived he  
For other Friends interred to be.”

and the other of Jonathan Barrow and Sarah, his wife, who died in 1737, and 1746 respectively. Barrow was a timber dealer in Monmouth, son of William Barrow.

Several members of the Brace family were buried at Pant. Valentine Jones, buried in 1670, and Richard Clarke in 1697.

#### PONTYMOIL.

Quakers had a flourishing cause at this place. George Fox preached there in 1657, whence he proceeded to Shrewsbury. Thomas Holme convinced many in the neighbourhood, and was buried at Pontymoil on 4, viii., 1666, in the presence of many Friends. John Gratton visited the place, also the Pant, in 1691. Elisha Beadles, Richard Hanbury, Charles Hanbury (son), and Roger Jenkin, all of Pontymoil Monthly Meeting, were present at the first recorded meeting in 1703.

Elisha Beadles, son of John Beadles, the Pant, kept an apothecary and a mercer's shop at Pontypool. Richard Hanbury owned ironworks. Charles Hanbury, of Llanfihangel Ystern Llewern, will be remembered as the head of the well-known family—the Hanbury's of London, bankers and brewers. Roger Jenkin, of Pontymoil, is also mentioned as of Llanfrechfa. The first meeting-house is in ruins, nearly opposite Maesderwen, on the north side of the railway, and the burial ground is covered by the embankment. The walls of the house form part of the railway boundary fence. Grace Brace, formerly of Bromsgrove, Worcs., was buried at Pontymoil early in the 18th century.

Richard Hanbury and his wife entertained George Fox during his visits to Pontymoil. On the second visit they accompanied him part of the way, as the former went “ over-the-hills ” toward Swansea. Richard Hanbury was the son of John Hanbury, and grandson of the first Capel Hanbury. He was a pioneer of Welsh industries, and provided work for many at Pontypool. Died in 1695, and was buried at Pontymoil burial ground.



Elisha Beadles (1670—1733/4), son of John Beadles, of Kempston, Beds., and Elizabeth, heiress of Walter Jenkins, the Pant, was a zealous Quaker. He married Anne Handley in 1699. Within six months two sons died in young manhood. Handley Beadles lost his life near the Irish coast whilst returning from Philadelphia (Oct., 1728), and his brother Robert died in Jamaica early the following year. Elisha Beadles was an author, and we give a brief account of his works in the Literary section. Col. J. A. Bradney gives the pedigrees of the Jenkins, and Beadles' families in his *History of Monmouth*, Vol. I. Died in 1733-4, and his wife did not long survive him.

Beadles Charles Fowler (1783—1855), surgeon of Mitcheldean, Glos., was the grandson of Elisha Beadles.

Joseph John, who died in 1730, was much grieved on his deathbed when informed that his tithes had been secretly paid by his wife and her relatives.

Evan Bevan (1679—1746), Quaker, a native of Llantwit Faerdre, near Pontypridd, kept school at Pontymoill meeting-house for thirty-five years, where he taught Latin, Greek, Geography, and the principles of Quakerism. Bevan came of an old stock, and was an *alumni* of Christ Church, Oxford, where he matriculated in 1695, at eighteen. Before his conviction he followed the law, and had held the office of Under-Sheriff in his native county of Glamorgan. The school ceased with his death, 17, ii., 1746. Buried at Pontymoill.

In "Testimonies concerning Friends deceased" (1760) may be found a succinct biographical sketch of Bevan. Sewel's *History of Quakers* contains an epistle by him (p. 705) under the name of Evan Jevens. He acted as minister for over twenty years. A stalwart opponent of tithes, exhorter to righteousness, and a pithy speaker. His testimony was short, savoury, and influential. He refused to teach heathen authors. For many years Bevan was clerk of the meeting.

#### SLOW (SLOWE, SLOUGH).

There was a General Meeting at "the Slow in Monmouthshire" about 1657. George Fox has Slowe, but Ellwood had Slone. A farm of this name near Caerwent, four miles west of Chepstow. Gawler mentions the place in his "Record" of 1659.

#### TROSNANT.

When the canal was constructed in 1800, Pontymoill was forsaken, and a new meeting house erected at Trosnant, which is now a carpenter's shop. It is situated about half

way up Old Trosnant, on the right hand side of the street. The Trosnant graveyard bears the inscription: "Friends Burial Ground, 1800," on an iron plate. The sum of £803 15s. 9d. was collected for the new meeting house in 1800. In 1820 services were held at the meeting house by the Church of England; and in 1836 English Baptists worshipped there before Crane Street Chapel was built (1846), and the Principal of the Baptist College, Pontypool, Rev. Thomas Thomas, the founder, took a deep interest in the place.

#### PENYGARN.

Almost opposite the Penygarn Baptist Chapel is an old Quaker burial ground. This is the spot referred to undoubtedly by an early burial entry, which we found at Devonshire House, Pontypool, 1670.

John Jones, Quaker minister of Blaenebrane parish, was buried at Penygarn, 7, v., 1777.

James Coslett, of Trevethin, buried in 1708-9.

#### LLANWERN.

The number of Quakers at this place, according to the Ecclesiastical Return made for Wales<sup>1</sup> at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury through the bishops on the 8th of June, 1669, after the revival of the Conventicle Act, varied from thirty, or forty, to sixty and upwards. The spirit of the calculation may be gauged by his remark: "And when they hear of some eminent seducing teacher, they will be sixty and upwards."

#### SHIRE NEWTON.

Hannah Jones, of Dinham, buried at Shire Newton in 1774.

Meetings were held continuously there until the early part of the nineteenth century. Elizabeth Holme and others encountered much opposition at Shire Newton in the early days of Quakerism.

Quaker meetings were held at Dinham, Caldicot, Wilwick, Abergavenny, and other places in the County of Monmouth. Quakerism still lingers in the town of Newport, where J. E. Southall lives. He is a descendant of an old Quaker family, and adheres to the original customs of the sect. Several interesting papers have been written by him on Quakerism in Wales. He issued, in 1809, leaves from the *History of Welsh Nonconformity in the Seventeenth Century*, being chiefly the Autobiography of Richard Davies (1636-1708).

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<sup>1</sup> Lambeth MSS. Add MSS. Brit. Mus. 19,399, f. 107.

EMIGRANTS AND DATE OF THEIR DEPARTURE.

James Howell, of Malpas parish, 1699.

Richard Thomas, 1683, brother of John Thomas, married and had three sons—Micah, James, and Gabriel.

Martha Wisdom, of Malpas parish, spinster, daughter of Thomas Wisdom, yeoman, 1699.

Sarah Wisdom, sister, 1699. Martha Aubrey.

**GLAMORGANSHIRE.**

The first converts to Quakerism in Glamorganshire lived at Cardiff, Ellan, and Treferrig. John ap John proved a successful messenger of Truth among the yeomen of the county. The Puritan ministers fiercely opposed the first publishers at Cardiff and Swansea. The followers of Fox were widely scattered among the hills and the vale of Glamorgan. After the romance of the first Quakers, the most interesting chapter in the history of Quakerism in the county is the strong cause which sprang up at Neath in 1800. The names of Gawler, Bevan, Price, and Gibbins, are honourably associated with Glamorganshire.

SUFFERERS.

1655. John ap John was committed by Robert Dawkins to the gaol at Cardiff for "misbehaving himself against the Laws" at Swansea. As related in the account of John ap John, this "misbehaviour" was just a question at the close of a sermon, "whether the preacher was a minister of Christ?"

Morgan Gibbon was imprisoned five weeks for refusing to pay tithes.

1658. John ap John, for preaching in Swansea, was sent to gaol for twenty weeks.

Margaret Thomas and Rebecca Thomas, for witnessing against the iniquities of the fighting priests at Swansea, were greatly abused and imprisoned, and then turned out of the town. William Bevan was put in prison and in chains for using his boat to bring them back again.

Elizabeth Holme and Alice Birkett were placed in the Dark House, Swansea, for testifying against the priests. Both were dismissed without trial. Elizabeth Holmes was detained again the same year for preaching to the people before the priest came to the Church. She was chained by the leg, and refused the necessities of life. For the third

time in the same year she was cast into Swansea Gaol, where she remained a night and a day for speaking a few words to Morris Bidwell as she met him in the street.

Francis Gawler, of Cardiff, suffered imprisonment for his testimony against the priests. He was dragged out of Church, shamefully abused by the people and priest. Afterward, for asking a question at the close of the priest's sermon before the judges, he was committed for three months, and later for speaking to the same priest in the street.

In this year Alice Birkett was cruelly abused in the churchyard at Llandaff. First stoned, then her clothes were torn off her back. Francis Gawler was struck violently with a key by the priest's wife, and suffered from the blow for some time. Gawler was imprisoned in the Town Hall, Swansea, after being assaulted and haled out of the Church where he had been standing silent. Elizabeth Richard, widow, of Cardiff, for speaking to a priest at Swansea Church after service, was imprisoned. One of the members struck her with a Bible. She was released without any kind of trial.

Thomas John and Toby Hodges were cast into gaol at Cardiff for calling two Cardiff priests "dumb dogs," and "hirelings." George Morgan, bailiff, granted a warrant, but the other bailiff of Cardiff, Jenkin William, refused to interfere, being conscious that the priests deserved the character attributed to them.

Toby Hodges and Dorcas Erbury were imprisoned for a like offence against Benjamin Flower, priest, Cardiff; also Thomas John Reinsham, for a similar cause.

Matthew Gibbon, of Molton, Vale of Glamorgan, was sent to Cardiff Prison for daring to enter Penmarc Church to clear his conscience before the people. Gibbon, who acted as Captain in the Parliamentary Army, and had lost the use of one arm, was dragged out of the "steeple-house." The commitment was illegal, as was the placing of Mary Richard and Mary Moss in the Stocks, for admonishing a priest—John Cutts.

John ap John, by the command of Captain Henry Griffiths, was haled out of a meeting at Cardiff, and sent to Richard Sheers, bailiff of Cardiff, accompanied by some soldiers. However, this man would have nothing to do with the affair; then the escort took John ap John to Roger Sheers, another bailiff. The priests persuaded the bailiffs to send John ap John to prison, also Francis Gawler, John Mayo, and Toby Hodges, present at the same meeting. After a few days detention, they were released without trial.

1659. Elizabeth Holme, again imprisoned in the Dark House, Swansea, for her testimony, together with Thomas



Shaw and Roger Bouldeth. She was sent to the House of Correction at Haverfordwest in the same year with Alice Birkett.

1660. Francis Gawler and John Gawler, for refusing to take the oath, were cast into gaol at Cardiff. David Jones, an aged man, for the same cause was likewise imprisoned. Persecution was fierce this year in Wales. Anyone called Quaker was in danger of losing his freedom, as the Order, issued to the Constables of Glamorgan, illustrates. Watch was to be kept night and day that no Quakers or Anabaptists passed from one parish to the other, or to gather at a Conventicle. Owing to this stricture many Quakers were arrested, some at home, others on the road, or at meetings.<sup>1</sup>

The following were lodged in Cardiff Gaol,—John Mayo, Jenkin Evans, Toby Hodges, Francis Gawler, John Richard, William Harris, John David, John Cupper, Rice Williams, William Williams, Roger Thomas, Walter Williams, David Jones, John ap John, Michael Adams, Robert Thomas, Matthew Jenkin, James Thomas, James Lewis, Thomas Robert, Pierce Robert, John Johns, Edward Edwards, Jenkin Howell, William David, William Morris, Thomas Elliott, Morgan Harry, Thomas Williams, Jenkin John, Meredith Rice, Evan Philip, Rice Jones, Edmund Thomas, Thomas John, Edward Gibbon, Lewis Beck, David Williams, William Thomas, William Rice, and Philip Lewis (41).

1661. Thomas Holme, on the 8th of October, was taken out of a meeting at Cardiff by soldiers, who were accompanied by a bailiff, and carried to the marshal's house, and the following day imprisoned without being before a magistrate.

On the 3rd November, John Gawler and John James were sent to Cardiff Gaol for attending a meeting in that town. On the 24th, the bailiffs of Cardiff entered a meeting there and sent all the men to gaol, and one woman, Elizabeth Richards. The Portreeve of Swansea and his officers did the same thing at a meeting in that town.

Watkin Richard, David Richard, and Robert Thomas, were placed in an underground cellar (Cardiff), where they were kept four or five months "without the common benefit of air allowed to felons." A poor woman, whose husband was blind and helpless, was confined "in a nasty stinking cockloft" for many weeks.

Lewis Beck, John Harris, William Wilkins, and Jenkin Thomas, for attending a meeting in the parish of Merthyr, were sent to Cardiff Prison, where they were kept for a month

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<sup>1</sup> Besse, p. 745.

in "a nasty stinking cellar," and not allowed common benefit of air, neither were any Friends allowed to visit them.

Elizabeth Holme visited Cardiff early in this year in order to see her husband, who had been in gaol three months. When the magistrates heard of her advent they sought diligently for her in the houses of her Friends, and put into gaol a maid whom they suspected knew where Elizabeth Holme was, but would not satisfy them. They also imprisoned the watchman for not arresting her as she came into the town. The magistrates seized her horse and saddle, and the man who kept the horse was cast into prison. When the excitement was over, Elizabeth Holme went to the magistrates demanding her horse and saddle, stating that she had come to Cardiff to see her husband in prison. A *mittimus* was made, and she was lodged in gaol with her husband. Anne Freeman, of Monmouthshire, who came to visit prisoners at Cardiff, was kept in gaol over night, and sent away with a pass. Other women, wives of prisoners, were denied the favour of seeing their husbands.

1663. For refusing the Oath of Allegiance, Meredith Edward, John Bowen, and Roger Colebeach, were committed to Cardiff Gaol, in May of this year. They were placed in a dungeon  $3\frac{1}{2}$  yards under the ground, and had a felon for companion. The worst transgressors were allowed the liberty of coming up in the daytime, but this privilege was denied them and the felon.

1671. For refusing to pay tithe John Bowen was kept in prison for eight months. The tithe was obtained illegally, and when the priest, who had him committed, heard that the relatives were determined to have a re-hearing of the case, the prosecutor released him from prison.

*Distresses.*—In 1656 the following suffered distresses for tithes :—Morgan Robin, for 11/6, goods valued at £1 10s, and imprisonment for five weeks; Edmund Thomas, of Molton, for £3 2s. goods £7; John David, of Molton, for £1 4s.—£3; Evan Leonard, of the same place, 4/- demanded, goods 8/-; Matthew Gibbon, for 2/-, 10/- in goods; Morgan Gibbon, for £3, goods £12; Thomas and Daniel Hopkins, for 7/-, £4. Thus, for £8 10s. 6d. demanded for tithes, goods worth £28 8s. were taken from Quakers in Glamorganshire.

In 1659, Llewellyn Jones, Philip Lewis, Evan Philip, and William Pierce, of the parish of Rhydri, had their goods taken from them for a fine of 2/6 each, for not attending the parish church.

Between 1687 and 1690, Morgan Thomas, of Swansea, had goods seized for refusing to pay tithes worth £3, also another sum, £1 10s.

## MEETING HOUSES.

## CARDIFF.

The scene of William Erbury's ministry and his curate, Walter Cradoc, became a remarkable centre of Quakerism. Quakers were numerous in the town of Cardiff in 1657. One justice of the peace sent seventeen of his servants to the meeting, held at the Town Hall, by George Fox, in that year; this justice probably was John Gawler, the brother of Francis Gawler, who, by all account, kept a number of workmen. Mayo is another honourable name in the annals of the Quaker Church at Cardiff at the beginning. Holme's work in the town has already been considered.

In the City Records<sup>1</sup> we read that the Council allowed the use of the Town Hall for the Yearly Meeting for Wales in 1746, on condition, that if any damage be done to the building, it would be made good.

Meetings were held in the houses of Friends up to 1838, when the first meeting-house was erected. This was rebuilt about fifty years later. William Hobson began a Forward Evangelistic Movement over thirty years ago, which proved successful, and was followed by William J. Sayce. The movement was not Quaker enough in its results, and therefore was discontinued. The Adult School has survived, and comprises even other churches.

Sowdrey was the name of the Cardiff burial ground owned by Friends. The last repairs to the graveyard were done in 1742. The river Taff being in great flood one year, the soil of the old graveyard was partly carried away. The site is now covered by part of the Great Western Railway Station. Samuel Davies was buried there in 1700.

## TREFYRHYG OR TREFERRIG.

Trefyrhyg Meeting House and burial ground were conveyed to trustees of the Society of Friends by John ap Evan (John Bevan, 1636—1724), and Barbara his wife, of Trefyrhyg House, after the year 1675. Trefyrhyg is situated at a beautiful bend of the stream Mychydd, which flows into the river Ely, outside Llantrisant. In some documents it is referred to as a mansion. The owner in 1638 was Evan John ap Evan, a well-descended Welsh gentleman, whose name appears in a list of Freeholders in<sup>2</sup> the Manor of Glyn Rhondda. Evan John ap Evan and his wife died, and left five young children. The eldest son, John ap Evan, inherited an estate

<sup>1</sup> *Cardiff Records*, Vol. II., p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Llantrisant*, by Sem Phillips, 1866.

of considerable value, but he gave his three brothers and two sisters a "helpful subsistence." He married a young woman, Barbara by name, when twenty-nine years of age, a true helpmeet, for she was sincerely religious. They prospered greatly despite the attacks of pirates upon some of the products which they sent by ship to Bristol. They worshipped at the Welsh Church, Llantrisant, whose vicar at that time was the Rev. Henry Williams, ejected from the living in 1662.

Williams<sup>1</sup> refused to take tithes, but was in receipt of £60 per annum from the exchequer, in Cromwell's time. When John ap Evan became a Quaker he was somewhat prepared, by the example of his old minister, as an anti-tithe payer. This remarkable apostle of Welsh Quakerism has left an interesting record<sup>2</sup> of his convincement: "A weighty concern came upon my mind for the well-being of my immortal soul. I saw it very needful for me to make a narrow search after the best way, and those people who professed that worship and service that are acceptable before God: and being in a weighty frame of spirit, the people called Quakers came before my mind." Hearing in the house of a relation of a book written by a Quaker, he borrowed it. After its perusal he wrote, "I can truly say what I then read answered the witness of God in my own bosom as face answereth face in a glass." Barbara, his wife, was at first prejudiced against the new religion, and perceiving her husband's more serious and weighty spirit, cautioned him not to be beguiled. However, she bore patiently with him, although their religious views differed for the space of twelve months. Their spiritual affinity was greater than one might suppose at the first glance, for when the priest, one Sunday morning, publicly excommunicated her husband, she defended him, and afterward left the Established Church with him. After their convince-ment, although Friends were few in number, a meeting was established by them in 1675 in their own house. Two Quaker ministers were seized at Trefyrhyg meeting—Thomas Ellis and Francis Lea, by a warrant from Dr. Bassett and another justice; and because they refused to take the oath of Allegiance and supremacy, in obedience to Christ's command, "swear not," they were committed to Cardiff Gaol, where they were detained for about fifteen weeks.<sup>3</sup> The first members at Trefyrhyg meeting were John ap Evan and his wife,

<sup>1</sup> *Dwy fil o dystion*, by Rev. Mardy Rees, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Collections of Memorials, Pennsylvania; *Penna. Mag.*, Vol. xvii. *Vide also Merion in Welsh Tract*, pp 154—178.

<sup>3</sup> *The First Publishers of Truth*, p. 324, an account by Elisha Beadles, Pontypool, written 10 Dec., 1720.



Barbara, Thomas Howell David, Howell Thomas, Lewis Richard, Merrick David and his wife, Watkin Thomas, and John Richard,<sup>1</sup> etc. After the imprisonment of Ellis and Lea, the Friends met quietly, and were not disturbed at Trefyrhyg. The meeting house and burial ground—a quarter of a rood—were conveyed to Thomas Howell David and Howell Thomas (David is added to his name in the deed) for the use of Friends for ever.<sup>2</sup> When Friends ceased to exist in the neighbourhood, the meeting house was converted into a workman's cottage,<sup>3</sup> and was sold by the Monmouthshire Monthly Meeting in 1820 for £20, but the burial ground is still in the possession of the Society of Friends.

In 1683, John ap Evan<sup>4</sup> and his family emigrated to Pennsylvania, in order to secure religious liberty. There he dropped the Welsh patronymic ap Evan, and adopted Bevan as his surname. He settled in a place bordering upon the territory of Edward Jones and Company, called Merion, and joined the meeting at Merion, where he was a tower of strength and highly respected. He travelled extensively in America, as a minister, with his old Welsh Friend, Hugh Roberts, who was a near neighbour. Together they visited Maryland, Rhode Island, New England, and other territories. His grief was profoundly deep when Hugh Roberts passed away, and was buried at Merion, in 1702.

His youngest daughter, Barbara, began to preach young, at 16, and was a spirit glorified before her time. She travelled with her father in America and Wales. Although weak in body, she journeyed over 600 miles in the old country.

In 1704, John Bevan felt constrained to leave Pennsylvania, and to return to his old home, where, he believed, the Lord had work for him to do. Four of his children had married, and were settled in Pennsylvania. Barbara was the only child that returned with him and his wife to Wales. They set sail for Bristol, but owing to a terrible storm all three were transferred to a ship bound for Shields. This was providential, for the first ship was captured near Lundy Island by a Privateer. Barbara, the daughter, died at the age of twenty-three, 26 Nov., 1705,<sup>5</sup> and her mother five years later (1710), aged 73.

In 1705, John Bevan and Evan Evans were representatives from Glamorgan at the Monmouthshire Quarterly Meeting,

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<sup>1</sup> *The First Publishers of Truth*, p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> Original deed.

<sup>3</sup> A photograph of the Old Meeting House appeared in the *South Wales News*, 1923.

<sup>4</sup> *The First Publishers of Truth*, p. 325, note.

<sup>5</sup> *Piety Promoted*, by John Field, edition 1812, p. 508.

when 7/- were voted for the poor at Trefyrhyg. Several members of the family returned from Pennsylvania to Trefyrhyg, and services were held in the meeting house, which was frequently visited by Friends travelling on religious service.

Thomas Story, a Barrister-at-Law, one time Recorder of Philadelphia, and Master of the Rolls under William Penn, gives us a fascinating picture of John Bevan.<sup>1</sup> Under date of 1717 he writes, "I went to my old friend John Bevan's house, with whom I had been well acquainted in Pennsylvania. He received me kindly, and I attended their meeting, which was small. Although 80 years of age, he went 22 miles with me to Pontypool, and that evening we had a meeting among the Friends there. He spoke Welsh, and though I understood not the language, yet I was in the Truth, by which I perceived his ministry was from the right ground. His speech flowed very free and smooth, carrying a proportion and satisfaction to the ear, not easily expressed, for the languages of men differ greatly, yet, the language of Truth, as to the comfort of it, is one in all nations."

John Bevan was imprisoned in Cardiff Gaol for refusing to pay tithes to the Vicar of Llantrisant in the year 1721, at the age of 85. He was also committed under a law passed in the reign of Elizabeth, *excommunicato capiendo*, which required all persons to attend the Established Church. Three years later he died at the age of 88, and his body was interred in the Trefyrhyg burial ground.

During the first century of Quakerism, frequent references are made in the Journals of travelling ministers to Trefyrhyg, which is sometimes very curiously spelt.

John Griffiths, a Radnorshire man originally, visited the place during his sojourn in the land of his fathers, 24 July, 1751. In Pennsylvania, Griffiths was a member of the Monthly Meeting at Derby, Chester County. His record reads: "We had a poor, small meeting amongst a few friends at Treeverague. I had nothing to administer but an example of silence."

William Brown, of Philadelphia, held a meeting there on 12 Nov., 1753. Brown's companion, John Player, in his private journal<sup>2</sup> has this entry "This day a meeting was, by appointment, to be at Treverig at 2nd hour afternoon. We got about 11<sup>th</sup> hour at the house of John Bevan (a native of Pennsylvania), though now he is become much of the native of the place where he lives (to wit, stony and barren). We

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Life of Thomas Story*, published 1747, p. 574.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Journal in Appendix—John Player, etc.

had a meeting at the place with a few professors. A heavy meeting 'twas, and in it those few was faithfully warned." Bevan left America in 1712. How different the description of the son from that of the father. The one hard, and the other full of sap, in his old age.

In 1707, it was proposed that the Monmouthshire and Trefyrhyg Quarterly Meetings unite together, and in the following year they were joined. Two Quarterly Meetings were held every year at Trefyrhyg, and two at Pontymoile.

On 30 July, 1709, the following were present at Trefyrhyg Quarterly Meeting:—John Bevan, John Home, Evan Evans, David John, Evan Anthony, Llewellyn Jenkins, and Cornelius Francis. At that time Friends were numerous in the district.

Joseph Gurney Bevan, London, came of the same stock as Bevan, Trefyrhyg.

Elisha Beadle, of Pontypool, wrote a testimony<sup>1</sup> to Barbara Bevan, jun., of Trefyrhyg, which is preserved at Devonshire House.

Margaret Bevan, a widow, of Llantrisant, was buried at Trefyrhyg, in 1788, aged 88. Few interments have taken place since that date.

#### QUAKERS YARD.

George Fox, who visited this place in 1667, had no name to give it. In the index to the first edition of his *Journal* it is referred to under Hills—"Over the hills." Fox, during his journey from Pontypool to Swansea, was accompanied by Richard Hanbury and his wife a day's journey through the country, Visiting Friends. At night Fox, rested at a widow-woman's house. Thence he passed "over the hills" the following day, visiting Friends, and declaring the Truth to people, and came to another widow-woman's place, where he had a meeting. "The woman of the house could not speak English, yet she praised the Lord for sending us over those hills to come and visit them. We travelled on through the country till we came to Swanzev."

Iolo Morgannwg states<sup>2</sup> that the burial ground was given to Friends by one, Lydia Phell, or Fell, who was the first

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<sup>1</sup> D. Robson MSS., T. R. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Llanover MSS. T. C. Evans (Cadrawd) discovered an unpublished note by Iolo in the MSS. at Llanover. Inscription on a tombstone in Quakers Yard: "Here lieth the body of Lydia Phell, who departed this life 20 Dec., 1699, age obliterated." It is possible that Iolo mistook the name of the place. No traces of such a stone remain at Quakers Yard. Thomas Fell, Judge of Swarthmore Hall, near Ulverstone, had seven daughters, but not one was named Lydia.

to be buried there. However, we have failed to find any trace of a lady bearing that name. At first sight Iolo's account seems feasible, for Margaret Fell, the widow of Judge Fell, and afterward the wife of George Fox, married 1669, was of Welsh (?) extraction, according to *Enwogion y Ffydd*, p. 235. Frederick J. Gibbins, of Neath, who made diligent researches, gives an entirely different account, and supports his views with extracts from the original deed. According to Gibbins, the property which belongs to the Society of Friends, formed a part of an estate called Pant Annos, and the owner in George Fox's time was Mary Chapman, widow of Hambden Chapman, of St. Mellon's, Cardiff. In 1667 she leased, at a nominal rental, a plot of land about half a Welsh acre, adjoining the rivers Taff and Bargoed, for a thousand years to Lewis Beck (Carpenter), Jenkin Thomas, John Harries,<sup>1</sup> Harry Thomas, and David Williams, (Husbandmen), all of the parish of Merthyr, "to be by them held to ye sole use and end as a place of burial for ye dead, especially those who are called Quakers, or shall be of their faith and persuasion."

Mary Chapman died on 5 April, 1700, and by her will, dated 1699, bequeathed the property to Friends in these words: "Being weak of body but of perfect memory, glory to the living God, I give and devise one plot of ground unto the people of the Lord called Quakers, to bury their dead in for ever. It is walled about and made ready for use."

The burial ground measures seven perches, where meetings have been held occasionally, the only seat being a raised mound within the enclosure. In the latter part of the eighteenth century an Annual Meeting was an attractive feature at Quakers Yard. The gatherings were discontinued because irreligious people frequented the place, breaking the Sabbath and drinking. One drunken person went to bathe in the river Taff hard by, and was drowned during Divine Service. After this tragic event the services ceased. Burials have taken place at intervals in the old Yard; thus in Feb., 1891, an infant son of Thomas and Sophia Litten, of the Cardiff Meeting, was buried there, when William Hobson, Evangelist to the Cardiff Meeting, officiated. The only tombstone with inscription at Quakers Yard is that in memory of Thomas Edmund, who died April 1st, 1802, aged 60; also Mary, his wife, died Jan. 4, 1810, aged 79.

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<sup>1</sup> The first three trustees here mentioned were imprisoned in 1661 in the County Gaol, for attending a meeting in the parish of Merthyr Tydvil. They were confined for a month in a nasty stinking cell, and not allowed fresh air, or to be visited by Friends.



The name Quakers Yard<sup>1</sup> is given to two railway stations, and to a thriving district. Adjoining is the mining village of Treharris, so called after the family of Edward Harris, a well-known member of the Stoke Newington Meeting, who sunk coal pits there, and procured the right to work coal under Quakers Yard. At Treharris one is reminded of Quaker leaders by Fox Street and Penn Street.

#### LOUGHOR.

We have no record of a meeting house at Loughor, but the first Quaker burial ground in the County of Glamorgan appears to have been there, for in 1659 a  $\frac{1}{2}$  quarter acre was conveyed to trustees for that purpose. At the Half Yearly Meeting, Hay, 30, iv., 1799, it was resolved "to demand possession of Loughor burying ground from the parson who now holds it, and, if possible, to obtain some small acknowledgement in order to preserve the right originally vested in Friends." F. J. Gibbins stated once that the site was lost.

#### MERTHYR TYDVIL.

In 1669 conventicles were held "for the mixed rabble and the Quakers" at the houses of Jenkin Thomas, Harry Thomas, and Lewis Beck.<sup>2</sup>

#### SWANSEA.

Puritanism flourished in Swansea in the days of the Commonwealth, and this accounts for the determined efforts of the Early Quakers to gain convincements in the town. The story of John ap John's rough treatment has already been told; also the persecution endured by Elizabeth Holme, Alice Birkett, and others at the instigation of Puritan preachers. Thomas Low, according to W. H. Jones, the historian of Swansea, was received by Gwenllian Wms (or Wry), widow, in 1655. He bore testimony at several meetings, which was accepted of many. In 1656 Thomas Holme entered the town and district, and was committed to gaol by the magistrates. He was followed shortly afterwards by Richard Hubberthorne. The temper of the times may be seen by the following: L. Weston Dillwyn in his *Contributions towards a History of Swansea*, p. 31 records that by the Mayor's order a fine of 5/- was inflicted upon John Mogford for setting sail out of the harbour on the Sabbath day, in 1656. In the same year the sum of 6/8 was paid to a con-

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<sup>1</sup> The graveyard is below Treharris, and not near the two Railway Stations, called "Quakers Yard."

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. of Prot. Non. in Wales*, by Dr. T. Rees, p. 174, ed. 1883.

stable for taking a Quaker to gaol. George Fox visited Swansea in 1668, and by that time Friends were firmly established in the borough.

Apparently the first Quaker Meeting House in Glamorgan-shire was built at Swansea. The old deed of trust bears the date of 1674, and the first building was on the site in High Street, with a burial ground attached, which served for a large area—Llangyfelach, Pontardulais, and Ynisforan.

Although the authorities put William Bevan in chains for bringing Quakers back to the town in his boat, his descendants flourished, and became strong supporters of the Quaker cause in the town, and in London. William Bevan died 5, xii., 1701, at the age of 74. As his dissolution drew nigh, he said unto his son Silvanus and daughter Hester: "I desire that you may live in love together when I am gone, and keep to Meetings, and let your Houses be open to those that bring glad tidings of the Kingdom of Peace, for they are faithful labourers; and if you have but little, God will add a blessing."

Silvanus Bevan entertained many itinerant Quakers. He married Jane Phillips, of Swansea, in 1685, by whom he had several children. Thomas Story records that he was "kindly entertained" at his house, 4, iii., 1717. Two of his children, at least, removed to London. His son Silvanus married in 1715 Elizabeth, the daughter of Daniel Quare, the clock-maker. Another son, Timothy, married for his second wife Hannah, the daughter of John Gurney. Their son, John Gurney Bevan, had a share in the business of chemist and druggist at Plough Court, Lombard Street,<sup>1</sup> an address which figured prominently in the history of Quaker movements in the Metropolis.

James Griffiths, head of the White Rock Copper Works, opposite the Hafod, Swansea, on the east side of the river Tawe, married the daughter of the first Silvanus Bevan, in 1726.

The Padleys were faithful representatives of Swansea at the Monthly and Yearly Meetings. In 1747, Mary Padley attended the Women's Meeting (Y.M.) at Cardiff. William Padley, senior, and William Padley, junior, appear in the records of the Monthly Meeting frequently.

Catherine Payton, during her visit to Swansea, met her future husband at the meeting—William Phillips, a copper agent of Swansea and Cornwall.

With the development of industries in Swansea and the neighbourhood, the need was urgent for a money exchange,

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<sup>1</sup> *Letters and writings of J. G. Bevan*, p. 9.

and some of the Quakers became successful bankers in the town. The name of Eaton, banker, is perpetuated in Eaton Grove, etc. Robert Eaton was of great service to the Monthly Meeting.

The Bank of Neath was owned by Robert Eaton and Joseph Gibbins,<sup>1</sup> of Swansea, and William Gronow, of Neath Abbey, in 1815. The Eatons were strong Quakers, and in 1833 eight of that name were members of the Swansea Meeting.

Henry Bath and family, founder of the prosperous copper shipping trade in the town, were staunch members. Also the Bevington brothers, proprietors of the china works, and Samuel Bevan and Pollard. Before the advent of these families, the Quaker cause had reached a low ebb in Swansea, for we find that at the Half Yearly Meeting held at Brecon on the 22 and 23, viii., 1798, the state of the Society at Swansea and Neath was considered. In the hope that both places would be benefited, it was agreed that the Friends in or near Neath may hold a meeting there on first of week-days, as a separate meeting belonging to the M.M. of Carmarthen and Glamorgan, and a meeting at Swansea only on morning of first day. Owing to the low state of Swansea, Friends at Neath were asked to keep a watchful eye on it, and that Friends from Neath go there, when drawn, to sit with the few, and thus strengthen them.<sup>2</sup> Toward the end of the eighteenth century the Monthly Meetings were mostly held in Carmarthen County, but from 1813 onward Swansea and Neath became favourite meeting places.

Coming to recent times, an aggressive mission work was begun by B. J. Ellesmere on his removal to Swansea from Llandrindod Wells, and in a short time a splendid meeting house was built on the site of the old chapel in High Street. This work was developed further under William George Hall. After the Welsh Revival of 1904, these and other Friends held meetings in the populous valleys of the Rhondda.

The new meeting house at Swansea, opened in 1899, is the fourth place of worship built there by Friends. It cost £1200. Mr. Rutter, a pioneer of Temperance work in the town, converted one of the ancient houses into the adjoining Temperance Hall. William Bevan, who lies buried beneath the present meeting house, gave the first place of worship and the ground "to the people of God in scorn called Quakers to be theirs and their heirs for ever." The property was not actually handed over to the society until 1692.

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<sup>1</sup> He married Elizabeth Clarence, of London, in 1823, at the Friends Meeting House, Deptford.

<sup>2</sup> From the original letter (copy).

## STRANGE QUAKER STORY, SWANSEA, 1667.

John Man, collector of the Port of Swansea, in a letter to Joseph Williamson, secretary to Lord Arlington, dated 28 March, 1667, related a strange story of the drowning of a Quaker woman. A vessel from Tenby bulged within the bar, and was in great danger. The captain ordered a Quaker woman, who was afraid and in the cabin, to lay her head on two large books. Asking what they were, she was told, "Church Bibles." "No wonder," she added, "such a violent storm had fallen upon them, and it would not cease till those Jonahs were cast overboard." She was the only one drowned from the boat which put out from the vessel.<sup>1</sup>

Among the host of Quakers buried at Swansea, the following may be of interest. John Allis, 1821, aged 35; Grace Ashwin, Pontardulais, 1829, aged 48; Elizabeth Bevan, 1761, aged 30; Maud Bacon, 1778, aged 87; Mary Bigg, 1814, 43; Sarah Berry, 1819, 95; Ruth Bath, 1829, 79; John Berry, 1828, 76, Cnap Llwyd, Llangyfelach parish; Daniel David, 1789, 76; John Eaton, 1828, infant; Priscilla Hopkins, Neath, 1774, 85; Thomas Heywood, 1832, 27; Benjamin Holmes, minister of York, died at Paul Bevan's house, 1749, 67; Priscilla Inman, 1781, 91; James Benjamin Jones, 1832, 47; George Knight, 1758; Priscilla Knight, his widow, 1762, 66; Esther Phillips, 1778, 97; Mary Padley, 1784, 86; John Peers, 1828, 84; Joseph Pollard, 1831, 72; Thomas Robert, Neath, a minister eight years, 1774, 65; Henry Squires, 1823, 85; Sarah Tregelles, Ashfield, nr. Falmouth, 1831, 43; Martha Williams, Neath, widow of Ambrose Williams, Pontypool, and a minister fifty years, 1788, 78; Jeremiah Bigg, surgeon, 1838, 27; Robert Eaton, 1840, 72; Henry Bath, 1844, 68; Valentine Clutton, 1859, 66; John Thomas, 1866, 83; Benjamin Pollard, 1873, 73.

## NEATH.

Quakerism in the ancient borough of Neath, although the meeting house was not built till 1800, spread quickly toward the end of the eighteenth century, and exercised a powerful influence upon the social life and industries of the district.

Elizabeth Lewis, wife of Rees Lewis, who died in 1671, and Priscilla Hopkins, 1, xii., 1774, were buried at Swansea. Meetings were held in the houses of the above and at Alltwn.

On the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd v., 1759, the Yearly Meeting was held at Neath, and the "Epistle" sent forth to the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of Friends in Wales, signed by John

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<sup>1</sup> *Carm. Antiq. Journal*, Vol. II., p. 16.



Young, clerk, breathes a fragrance as of the "Lily of the Valley." One brief quotation is made :

Dear Friends and Brethren,

In the renewing of that love which waters cannot quench, nor length of time wear out or deface, we tenderly salute you, sincerely desiring that grace, mercy, and Peace may increase and prosper among you that thereby you may be awakened and stirred up to diligence in your respective stations in the Church, by occupying your talent or talents therein to the honour of the Sacred Name and to join our comfort and edification.<sup>1</sup>"

Thomas Roberts, of Neath, attended the Monthly Meeting at Penybanc in 1762. Catherine Phillips visited Friends at Neath on two occasions, in 1778. Friends from Neath were desired by the H. Y. Meeting at Hay, 22 and 23, viii., 1798, to keep a watchful eye upon the meeting at Swansea, then very low, and to worship with them.<sup>2</sup>

Richard S. Harford, Nantyglo, clerk of the Half Yearly Meeting for Wales, in a letter to Evan Rees, Neath, which accompanied a copy of the minutes of the Half Yearly Meeting at Welshpool, 25 and 26, iv., 1798, on 7, v., 1798, wrote<sup>3</sup> "I am pleased to find you are likely to have such an agreeable addition to your numbers. It would have been very agreeable to us to have joined you also, but the way does not, at present, appear sufficiently open, till which we must be as contented as we can where we are." This addition refers to the Quakers who settled at Neath Abbey from Falmouth, Cornwall, when the Iron Works there were taken over by Fox and Price, of that place.

The Quakers of Neath immediately sought a site for a meeting house and a burial ground. The daughter of a former Friend came to their aid, and generously gave a piece of land, which formed part of the old Castle grounds, where the meeting house was built in 1800, at the bottom of James Street. The donor was Lady Molly Leigh, wife of Capel Hanbury Leigh, of Pontypool, whom she had married for her second husband. Her first husband was Sir Robert Humphrey Mackworth, 2nd Bart. (1764—1794), the Gnull, Neath, whom she married in 1792. Lady Leigh was the daughter of Nathaniel Miers, of Neath and Richmond, who

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<sup>1</sup> From the original, which is in the possession of F. W. Gibbins, J. P., Garthmor, Neath.

<sup>2</sup> Original in possession of a Friend. Elizabeth Rees, Neath, wife of Evan Rees, made an elder at Hay in 1798.

<sup>3</sup> From the original, in the possession of a Friend. Evan Rees removed from Esgairgoch to Neath. Certificate bears date of 7, v. 1769. Liberated 14, vii., 1776, to marry Elizabeth Williams, daughter of Ambrose and Martha Williams, Pontypool. (Minutes of Glam. M. Mtg.) Died 27, xi., 1816, aged 72. The Rees family were exceptionally able.

came of a notable Quaker stock, but because he married out of meeting was disowned by the Society. Lady Leigh, known before her marriage with Mackworth as "Molly Miers," was remarkable for her beauty and benevolence.

At the Half Yearly Meeting, Hay,<sup>1</sup> 30 of 4<sup>mo</sup>, and 1 of 5<sup>mo</sup>, 1799, it was resolved: "Trustees to be appointed, and prepare deeds for conveying to the Society the land given to the Society, near Neath, by Capel Leigh and wife." On the 27, viii., 1799, at the Half Yearly Meeting, Brecon, "William Cooper was desired to present writings for conveying piece of ground at Neath to Capel Leigh and Molly Ann, his wife, for execution.<sup>2</sup>" The old Castle wall was pushed back, in order to make the graveyard larger. Meetings have been held regularly at Neath since 1800. The last burial took place there in 1913. From 1800 meetings for worship were, First Day—11 a.m. and 5 p.m., in the 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, and 12 month, and 11 and 3 the rest of the year. Fifth Day at 11 a.m.

The Quakers of Neath have occupied an important place in the religious, industrial, and scholastic life of the town. Strong in character and energetic, they have impressed their ideals upon the citizens, and their integrity has had a most salutary influence. William Weston Young and his wife removed soon after their marriage at Bristol, in 1795, to Neath. He was appointed one of the trustees for the Loughor-Brynmaen and Cae Newydd burial places at Hay, 26, viii., 1801. At that time he was a miller at Aberdylais. The life of this unique Quaker, writer, inventor, porcelain maker (Swansea and Nantgarw), deserves a biography. The episodes of his adventurous career are truly romantic and thrilling. He had time to serve the Society in the midst of his multifarious undertakings. From Neath he removed to Swansea, and investigated the case of Laugharne in 1803, for the Monthly Meeting. Both husband and wife kept diaries, which we quote in the Literary Section. After sojournings in Swansea and Newton Nottage they returned to Neath. George Dillwyn, a Friend, who had a close sympathy with Peter and Anna Price, of Falmouth, praised their broad basis of universal love, and welcomed the prospect of their settling at Neath: "It is not improbable that they may be of more real service than even the whole Committee of the Yearly Meeting in its transient visits." Dillwyn's anticipations were fully justified, for the Prices became splendid benefactors in their adopted district.

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<sup>1</sup> MS. loaned by a Friend.

<sup>2</sup> MS. loaned by a Friend.

Peter Price (1739—1821), a native of Southport, was converted to Quakerism from Roman Catholicism. At the age of fifteen he and his sister were taken ill with a fever. The sister died, but Peter, who seemed to be dead, was kept in a room apart because the doctor refused to give a burial certificate, owing to certain symptoms and glimmerings of life. His mother, a widow, several times prepared for the funeral, but the doctor, each time, deferred it. In this state of trance he was kept for thirty-two days. On the night before he revived his mother felt constrained to place a small loaf of bread near his bed. The following morning Peter was up, and the loaf had disappeared. The incident caused much talk at the time. Excepting the pangs of hunger, he felt no other uneasiness from his strange experience. When he asked for his sister his mother said that she had gone away. "Ah," he added, "She is not here, for I saw her in heaven." In his state of trance he saw things unutterable in heaven and hell and with him all was sealed with silence. Failing to see Purgatory he gave up Catholicism, and joined the Quakers. Upon attaining the age of manhood he sailed to America, but returned to England rather than fight in the American war. In 1781 he married Anna Tregelles, a Quaker minister, and in 1800 they removed, with their family, to Neath Abbey.

Peter Price served the cause of Truth loyally, and was highly respected, both as a Christian gentleman and a captain of industry. He rendered service as a visitor to various meetings in Wales, and was a trustee of properties held by the Society of Friends. Died, 13 Sept., 1821, and buried at the Friends' burial ground, Neath. Anna Price, his wife, was a most gifted woman. Although the mother of ten children she was diligent in the service of the Church, and often travelled for weeks together in different parts of the country. The epistolary gift was hers in a remarkable degree. Her letters, from 1776—1846, are preserved somewhere. The affection of her children for her recalls that of the Wesleys for their mother. Anna Price had been carefully educated as a Quaker, and at a very tender age she dedicated her heart to the Lord's service. Catherine Phillips, with whom she travelled in Cornwall, helped to form her spiritual life and character. Extracts from Anna Price's letters reveal what changes have occurred during the last century. Writing to her mother from London, before her marriage she supplied this striking picture: "I am sitting down in the country house, writing, while our dear Friends, Rachel Wigham and Barbara Drewry, sit smoking their pipes, and other Friends are in the parlour." Once she was appointed to attend

the men's meeting from the women's meeting. A young man followed them from the men's meeting, who felt that it was his duty to warn them lest they should be too much set up and convey too much encouragement to the women's meeting. Anna Price said nothing because M. Roseth was a match for him. She noticed that men Friends were painfully jealous at their meetings. Some were unwilling that women Friends should have a Yearly Meeting of their own. "I thought it had been determined long ago that women *had* souls," was the comment of J. Crowley when Anna Price complained to him of the conduct of the officious young man.

In a letter, dated 16 Nov., 1799, she wrote: "Times are very hard. This post brought word that the next flour must be at least four guineas a sack. Coal is also very scarce, and very dear." In a communication to her son, Joseph T. Price, who was away from home at the time, she reported that "distrainment had been made at Briton Ferry for the exorbitant sum of £20, for which they have taken the cow thou bought at Cowbridge, and a horse. Whilst I wish our testimony, borne faithfully and patiently, I do wish that our neighbours might be prevented from robbing." This benevolent mother in Israel, beloved of the young and poor, passed away at the age of eighty-seven, in 1846, and was buried at Neath.

Joseph Tregelles Price<sup>1</sup> (1784—1854), the son of Peter and Anna Price, born 1 Jan., 1784, at Penryn, Cornwall, will be remembered, not only as a large employer of labour in the neighbourhood of Neath, but as a pioneer of the Peace and Anti-slavery movements. The eldest of ten children, he was religious from his birth. Because his father had need of him in a mercantile business he was removed, at the age of fourteen, from a Boarding School at Compton, to Neath Abbey, where his father was part-proprietor of the Iron Works and Coal Mines. Joseph T. Price, in 1810, was placed in charge of several small collieries. Later, he became head of the Iron Works as well, where his genius found ample scope. Workmen spoke of the Quaker master with affection, and even "noisy fellows" conducted themselves with propriety as they passed his residence at Neath Abbey. Mindful of the spiritual needs of his workmen he encouraged them to attend the means of grace, to be sober and upright in all things. In spite of his great responsibilities he travelled in England and Ireland, and was accompanied by his ministering sister, Junia, a beloved messenger of the Cross.

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide Annual Monitor* for 1856, p. 156, and *Frs. Qly. Examiner*, No. 110 (1894).



On 28th May, 1814, in a letter to his sister, Junia, from London, he wrote: "I have yet to attend to the most important thing of all—that is to put things in train for establishing a Society for the sole purpose of aiming at such diffusion of light and knowledge as shall tend to the general and universal preservation of Peace. There are a host ready to join." On 4 June, 1814, a meeting was held at Plough Court, Lombard Street, to discuss the project, when J. T. Price, W. Allen, Frederick Smith, Basil Montague, and others were present. In 1816 the Peace Society was founded. Anna Price, his mother, doubted the wisdom of this step, fearing it would lead to political complications, but was earnestly assured that the matter lay heavily upon his heart. This good woman herself had gone to the men's meeting some years before declaring that something must be done to prevent war. Her worthy son extended her work.

When the Neath Philosophical Society was formed in 1835, Price was its chairman. The object of the society was to encourage the Arts and Sciences. Other Friends also took an active interest in the society. E. O. Tregelles was the first secretary, while Isaac Redwood was its earliest promoter, together with the Rev. H. H. Knight, Rector of Neath. Price was an ardent supporter of the Bible Society, and toiled hard for the Abolition of Slavery. When slaves were emancipated by Britain at enormous cost his delight was great, and his chief wish afterward was to see America doing likewise. In 1819 he journeyed through Paris on his way to the South of France, whither he was taking his invalid sister Junia. Price unfolded to a few distinguished Frenchmen in Paris the blessings of a French Peace Society. At the time care had to be exercised not to give offence, so the movement was called, "The Society for promoting Christian Morality." The first article of faith was Peace, then Abolition of Slavery in French Colonies, and the reform of Laws respecting Capital Punishment. Prince Polignac confessed that he owed his life to the visit of the Quaker, Price, to Paris, for the "*Societe de la Morale Chretienne*," mooted by him, exerted itself to remove the punishment of death for political offence. Fortunately for the Prince, the object had been attained just before his trial, and thus his life was spared.

His fine manhood revealed itself in the interest taken by him in the sad case of the two men, prisoners in Cardiff Gaol, who were condemned to death on the charge of having caused the death of a man named Black in the Merthyr Riots, 1831. Price felt impelled to visit the prisoners, and after conversation with Richard Lewis (Dick Penderyn) became convinced

of their innocence. He travelled to London forthwith and interviewed Lord Melbourne (the Home Secretary), and Lord Brougham (Lord Chancellor). Addressing Melbourne he said: "His blood was on my head till I made this exertion. I now transfer its weight from my conscience to thee." A ten days' respite was signed by Melbourne, but afterward Lewis paid the extreme penalty of the law. The real culprit confessed in time that he caused the death of Black, but Lewis and his comrade were made to suffer for his crime.

Price acted as clerk to the Half Yearly Meeting for several years, and was trustee for many properties belonging to the society. He owned a number of farms, where the horses employed at the works were kept. In the capacity of bailiff he brought William Paddison<sup>1</sup> into the district, whose children are well-known citizens of Neath.

We notice elsewhere Price's great service to the Coal and Iron Industries, and the employment he provided for many hundreds of coal-miners and iron-workers. Blameless and void of offence were his works even as his character. He died on Christmas Day, 1854, aged seventy-one. His funeral was the largest witnessed in Neath in that generation. William Ball in *Memorials of Kindred* (p. 155) wrote touching lines after him:

"The Friend of Peace. Mourners have wept to-day,  
His bier attending: while the dread array,  
Of siege and battle claims the patriot's tear;  
This awful heralding what doth it say,  
Rough harbinger to usher in the year?" etc.

The poor suffered a grievous loss when he passed away. Hearing of a young Welsh boy who could repeat the Epistle to the Romans, he invited him to Neath Abbey, and encouraged the youth to go forward. This wonderful boy was the Rev. Daniel Griffiths, Zoar, Neath, the greatest Welsh preacher of his time in some respects. Price continued his friend, and when he died exclaimed: "I have lost the Welshman I loved most." The Bible which Price presented to Griffiths for reciting the epistle was treasured to the end by the immortal preacher. His brother, Henry Habberley Price, Brynglas, Neath, was an expert engineer, and a pioneer of the Swansea Harbour Trust developments. His remains were interred at the Neath burial ground. Died 8, iii., 1839, aged 44.

Edwin Price, son of Peter and Anna Price, was a soul glorified young. He died at the age of twenty-three, in the year 1819, and his mother published a short biography, which we notice in the literary section.

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<sup>1</sup> Died 28, iv., 1866, aged 75. Buried at Neath. Friends burial ground.

Junia Price, the fourth daughter of the family, was a minister of the gospel for many years, and was her brother Joseph's companion on his travels through England and Ireland, although a semi-invalid. Two remarkable services rendered by her may be mentioned, and both in the town of Carmarthen. The first was in the time of the Rebecca Riots. This pure soul interviewed the magistrates and other powerful people assembled in the court, and exhorted them to act on the peaceable principles of the gospel. Her exhortation was opportune, and proved beneficial. When her end was nigh she felt that she owed a debt of love to the poor prisoners at Carmarthen Gaol. Although suffering from a painful disease and in great weakness, she journeyed thither from Neath, where her ministry was blessed. Died 3, x., 1845, aged 58, and buried at Neath.

Lydia Price married Isaac Redwood, leather manufacturer, Neath. Isaac Redwood will be gratefully remembered by all lovers of Welsh literature, on account of his friendship and loving material help to Edward Williams (Iolo Morgannwg), the celebrated antiquary, in his impecunious old age. Iolo called him "my constant and energetic friend." Redwood was chief agent in keeping alive an annual subscription for "the antiquary and bard," the greater portion of which he collected from Quakers and other friends in the town of Neath. By means of this charity a weekly stipend was regularly handed to him, ample for his simple needs and comfort. At the time of his death the surplus was presented to Taliesin Williams, his son, whereby sundry small debts were paid and the funeral expenses. Charles Redwood, of Boverton, made the weekly payments to Iolo because he lived near him. How touching to read of the aged scholar's profound gratitude for such benevolence. One of the last things written by Iolo was the following: "Edward Williams would be as glad to see one of the truly Christian Redwoods as to see an angel from heaven." Lydia and Isaac Redwood kept open door for the Sage of Laleston, Vale of Glamorgan. The chair which Redwood ordered for him is in the possession of Mrs. Davies, Caewern, Neath, the niece of Redwood. Iolo, who was asthmatic, could not lie in bed, so slept in a chair downstairs. This relic is interesting, not only because of its connection with Iolo, but as a memento of the Quakers' deep love for him as man and scholar.

Deborah Price, another daughter of Peter and Anna Price, married Elijah Waring.<sup>1</sup> Their seven children, two

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<sup>1</sup> Elijah Waring d. 29, iii., 1857, aged 69, and was buried at Neath. Deborah, his wife, d. 18, vii., 1867, aged 81.

sons and five daughters, were members of the meeting at Neath. Elijah Waring was a writer of no mean gift, and his daughter, Anna Letitia, has a place of her own among our hymn writers. The scenery from Plas y Felin, where Waring lived, has been woven beautifully into the texture of Anna's poetry, but we deal with the writings of both father and daughter elsewhere. Elijah Waring's memory is perpetuated by his excellent volume, entitled, *Iolo Morgannwg Recollections and Anecdotes of Edward Williams* (1850). He came to Neath from Acton in 1813.

Elijah Waring addressed a letter to the Monthly Meeting of Carmarthenshire and Glamorganshire, dated 9, xii., 1824, wherein he stated that, owing to change in belief, he felt called upon to withdraw from the outward communion of Friends. Three Friends waited upon him at the request of the Monthly Meeting—Thomas Bigg, Joseph T. Price, and Bevington Gibbins, who were received with kindness. His attachment to Quakerism was preserved, notwithstanding his different views on certain of the Christian testimonies. The deputation expressed their hope that he would see things in another light.

Christiana Habberley Price, daughter of Peter and Anna Price, was also a minister. She lived at Longford, where she died 4, vi., 1879, at the age of 87. Her kindly interest in children is lovingly remembered by the writer, who received from her hands valuable booklets. The fragrance of her good name is still preserved in the district.

The family of Tregelles worshipped at the Neath Meeting House. Dr. Samuel Prideaux Tregelles was closely associated with the place. His service to literature is dealt with in another section. Edwin O. Tregelles visited Norway in 1850.

Bevington Gibbins<sup>1</sup> and Rebecca his wife were devoted workers. In 1823, Bevington Gibbins held a meeting at Tregaron, and found people very ready to appreciate such a visit. Two Quakers were overseers of Neath parish in 1828—Bevington Gibbins and Jonathan Rees.

The Gibbins are descendants of the valiant Cornish Quaker, Nicholas Jose (d. 1694). From 1662 till 1672 Jose was kept a close prisoner in Launceston Castle for refusing tithes and the oath of allegiance. The cell where he spent the ten years is known to-day as the Quaker's cell. Jose lived near Land's End, and was convinced by Mills Bateman.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bevington Gibbins died 1835, aged 43. Rebecca Gibbins d. 1862, aged 70.

<sup>2</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 22.



Frederick J. Gibbins,<sup>1</sup> son of Bevington and Rebecca Gibbins, exercised great influence as minister of the gospel, and was highly honoured for his noble character and tireless activity in every good work. He travelled in the ministry, and was a faithful worker and supporter of the Christian Associations for young men and young women in Neath. Up to the time of his death he served as Governor of the Intermediate School in the town. Social service appealed to his sympathy, and he gladly co-operated with all religious workers. He collected many Quaker documents, and contributed valuable articles to the Society's publications, *e.g.*, "The Rise of Friends in Glamorganshire," "Quaker's Yard," "Trefyrhyg," etc. His sons, Fred. W. Gibbins and Theodore Gibbins, are notable captains of the tin-plate industry in Neath. When the former was High Sheriff of Glamorgan (1908-9), he, like John Bright, received a special permit to discard the sword on special occasions. Mid-Glamorgan was represented by him for a short time in Parliament, after the late Sir S. T. Evans became Solicitor General, but Parliamentary life did not appeal to him, therefore he resigned his seat. The welfare of Neath is near to his heart, and in the last election he was returned at the head of the poll. Several important offices in the borough and county are held by him. The two daughters of F. J. Gibbins are active workers in connection with the Young Women's Christian Association in the town, and loyal advocates of total abstinence. Among women reformers they are faithful and honoured leaders.

Among the notable Quakers interred at the Friends' burial ground, Neath, beside those already mentioned, the following names may be cited:—Thomas and Elizabeth Redwood, John Mathew Young, of Plas-y-Felin, Flour Mill (16, ii., 1844, aged 62); Henry S. Conway; Jonathan Rees, Queen Street, Iron Merchant; Edwin Evans, a promising genius (d. 1859, 26 years of age); Joshua Richardson, Civil Engineer, James Moxham (d. 1854, aged 65), designer of the Neath Abbey Tiles, which appeared in Rev. H. H. Knight's joint volume, entitled, *Specimens of the Inlaid Tiles Heraldic and Geometrical, from Neath Abbey* (Edinburgh: Fr. Schenck, c. 1850); W. Weston Young, Waunceirch (d. 1866, aged 68); Fisher; and Slade.

An interesting story was told the writer by the daughter of William Harries, Water Street, a Quaker, of how the church rate in the town came to an ignominious end soon after the settlement of the late Archdeacon Griffiths. A constable

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<sup>1</sup> Died 1907, aged 74. Caroline, his wife, d. 1913, aged 78.

was carrying a sack of flour on his back in *lieu* of rates, attended by another constable. A crowd of people followed jeering. One woman with a sharp knife cut a hole in the sack, and another held a pan beneath the flow of flour. Many hands were dipped into the pan, and the two policemen were soon covered. The Rector, Griffiths, happened to drive past at the time in his carriage, and when he saw the police covered with white flour could hardly keep a serious face. On asking why they were treated thus he was informed that the sack had been seized in payment of church rates. "This must not happen again," said the Rector, "some other way must be found." The Quakers of Neath remained faithful to their principle, and refused to pay tithes and church rates. When the collector called he found, in the best houses, a piece of silver plate ready to meet his demands.

The Neath Bank was owned by William Gronow, and the Quakers, Robert Eaton, and Joseph Gibbins, of Swansea. A £5 note issued by this bank in 1815 is in the possession of F. W. Gibbins.

Alive to the needs of child education, the leading Quakers interested themselves in the establishment of schools after the plan of Joseph Lancaster at Neath Abbey, and the town of Neath.

These were the first schools for children in the district, and were known for some time as Quaker schools. Lancaster's method of teaching proved exceedingly successful despite the opposition of certain ecclesiastics. The propriety of teaching the poor to write and to cipher was called in question by these, but the Quakers maintained that education was as valuable for what it prevented as for what it taught. As for making them proud of their achievement, well, if everybody could read as they can walk there would be no pride, for no one boasts of his walking; and even if a poor man became as proud as Lucifer, he would have to work or starve. Labour depends not on conceit, but upon the necessity of eating and drinking. Such miserable reasons were brushed aside, and the good accomplished by these early schools cannot be too highly praised. The late Sir S. T. Evans, Judge of the Admiralty Court, began his scholastic career at the Neath Abbey School. There were no religious tests, and the working expenses were not heavy. By the system of teaching-monitors the work was simplified and made effective. The Quaker propagators of Neath Abbey School had no desire to convert the children to their way of worship. The attitude of Lancaster was so moderate and reasonable that his method appealed to the Nonconformists of the district. "Either let the religion of Quakers be taught,"

he wrote, "if a Quaker School is founded upon this method of teaching writing and reading; or I will confine myself to those general practical principles which are suitable to all sects, if you choose to found a general school for the instruction of indigence; or I will meddle only with the temporal instruction of my pupils, and you may confide their religious instruction to whom you please." Lancaster, who had original ideas in regard to education, and possessed an inventive genius of high character, was greatly admired by the Neath Abbey Quakers, and his school turned out excellent citizens and workmen.

When the brothers, Rev. Frank and Seth Joshua began their wonderful mission in the open air at Neath, in the Autumn of 1882, the Quakers shewed practical sympathy with them in their hard but successful task. They allowed the missionaries and their followers to hold meetings at their meeting house in James Street on wet nights, where some of the worst characters of the town were converted.

The Green Mission was started by Neath Friends, and Sir H. M. Stanley was deeply interested in the work.

#### EVAN REES (1790—1821) AND THE PEACE SOCIETY.

William Allen convened, at his house in London, on 7, v., 1814, a meeting, "to consider of a new Society to spread tracts, etc., against war." but owing to the unsettled state of the country, and the recommencement of hostilities the following year, the Peace Society was not founded until the 14, vi., 1816. This took place at William Allen's house, Plough Court, Lombard Street, London. Evan Rees was appointed corresponding secretary, and the success of the new Society was in a great measure due to his zealous work. The *Herald of Peace* testified unto his efficient and gratuitous services: "From the period of his arrival in London to that in which he embarked for New South Wales, his pursuits and his very existence are identified with the history of the Peace Society. He seemed to be its *centre and its soul*. To its interests he devoted his time and his talents, and was mainly instrumental in giving it all its early vigour. In its record<sup>1</sup> his praise is recorded, and the Committee communicated to him their sense of his most valuable and efficient services by a cordial vote of thanks."

The *Herald of Peace* owed its origin to him and another

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide* William Allen's *Journal*, and *Memoirs of Evan Rees*, p. 45, published in 1853, for Jonathan Rees, Neath, his brother. Evan Rees was buried at sea on his way to New South Wales, 28, vi., 1821.

Friend. Several papers by Evan Rees appeared in the first numbers. The fifth tract of the Society of Peace on the "Horrors of War" was from his pen.

On 14, vi., 1816, it was resolved at Plough Court :

1. "That the Society be formed, and designated—The Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace."

2. "That the object of this Society be to print and circulate tracts, and diffuse information tending to shew that war is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity and the true interests of mankind, and to point out the means best calculated to maintain permanent and universal peace on the basis of true Christian principles."

3. "That the Society addresses itself to no particular or separate religious community amongst the professors of Christianity, but wishes to embrace those of every denomination who are disposed to exert themselves in promoting 'Peace on earth and goodwill towards men.' It is, therefore, desirous to avail itself of their influence, and to obtain their assistance towards the attainment of an object so truly Christian and benevolent; an object not limited by local attachments, or circumscribed by geographical boundaries, but extending to the whole human race.

4. "That the Society trusts the general prevalence of erroneous sentiments on the subject of war, instead of operating as a discouragement to its friends, will rather stimulate them to proportion their efforts to the obstacles they have to encounter, and they will be animated to look forward to a period when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Evan Rees, when offered a lucrative post in London in 1815 by a Birmingham firm, refused it, because it implied the sale of guns and swords. The subject of Peace at the time was most unpopular, but he hesitated not in attaching his name to his tract. The Peace Society has had for secretaries two notable Welshmen—Evan Rees and Henry Richard. Rees was compelled to resign his post as secretary on account of ill-health. The following extract from the Minutes of the Committee of the Peace Society, October 10, 1820, may be given: "Evan Rees being under the necessity of leaving London from the state of his health, has requested to be released from the office of secretary. It was resolved—that the resignation of Mr. Evan Rees be accepted, and that, while the Committee most sincerely regret the cause which deprives them of his most important services, they communicate to him their grateful sense of his eminent and unwearied



attention, while holding the situation, and discharging the duties of secretary *Vide Memoirs of Evan Rees*, p. 69].

Tributes to this excellent Quaker may be found in *The Annual Monitor*, 1823; *Cambrian Newspaper*, Swansea, March, 1822; *Philanthropic Gazette*, 30 April, 1823; and *Herald of Peace*, 2nd number for 1822.

## EMIGRANTS, AND THE DATE OF THEIR DEPARTURE.<sup>1</sup>

Charles Bevan (Charles ap Evan), Treferrig, parish of Llantrisant, gentleman, freeholder in Haverford, 1683. Returned to Wales and settled at Llantwit Vardre. Evan Bevan, Master of Pontymoill School, his son. Charles Bevan died a Quaker. Married Florence, daughter of Morgan ap Evan, Gelligaled.

Evan Bevan, of Treferrig, son of John Bevan (John ap Evan), gentleman, 1683. Died in Merion, Pa, 1720.

John Bevan (John ap Evan), Treferrig, gentleman, 1683. Freeholder in Merion and Haverford. Removed with Barbara his wife and several children. Returned to Treferrig, where he died 1726. Member of the Provincial Assembly, and a Justice of the Peace for Philadelphia.

William Edwards, yeoman, settled in Middleton, Pa. before 1688. Freeholder. Twice married, and had one son and daughter.

Florence Jones, relative of John Bevan, 1683. Married Lewis David, of Radnor, co.

David Lewis, of Eglwysilan parish, after 1684.

John Lewis, of Treferrig, labourer, in the employ of John Bevan, 1683.

Katherine Prichard, of Telcha, spinster, cousin of John Bevan. Purchased land in 1682.

John Richard, Llantrisant parish, labourer, 1683.

Cecil Thomas, Treferrig, 1707.

John Thomas, before 1700. Married Esther, daughter of John Pugh, White Marsh; Treharne and Jane David, 1683; Daniel Thomas, 1692; Edward Richard, 1683.

*From Eglwysilan*—Ralph Lewis, 1683; and William Lewis, 1686.

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<sup>1</sup> Compiled from *Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania*, by T. A. Glenn.

## CARMARTHENSHIRE.

Quakerism in Carmarthenshire did not flourish as in the neighbouring county of Pembroke. James Picton and Job Thomas were able defenders of the Truth in the county. Both made contributions to Quaker literature. Travelling ministers were welcome visitors.

### SUFFERERS.

1661. Morgan Thomas, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, was sent to gaol by Judge Morton, and was roughly treated in the Shire Hall. John Humphreys and Humphrey Williams and others committed to the town prison.

1662. James Picton, on the 8 September, was made prisoner at Carmarthen Castle for refusing to swear. He suffered under sentence of *praemunire* there for four months, and afterwards was removed to Haverfordwest, where he remained in close confinement for many years.

1672. James Picton released from Carmarthen Castle after being prisoner ten years under *praemunire*. Part of the time was spent by him in Haverfordwest Gaol.

1679. Evan David, John Evans, and John Lloyd were imprisoned at Carmarthen Castle for refusing the oath of allegiance. According to their *Mittimus*, the three were natives of Radnorshire. Evan David was a yeoman of the parish of New Church; John Evans, a carpenter, of Nantmill Parish; and John Lloyd, a glover, of Thissert. They were seized by the constables of Llanddewy as strangers and vagabonds without pass or testimonial, and suspected as persons inimical to the Government of the Realm. The three were honest and respectable men, but were punished because of their allegiance to Quakerism.

1684. Humphrey Williams was kept in Carmarthen Gaol for a year for not attending Church, and Thomas Griffith, for about three months, for the same reason.

In this year Francis Howel was distressed for tithes. Goods to the value of £1 19s. 4d. James Thomas, of Llanboidy Parish, £3 os. 6d. for tithes.

### MEETINGS.

#### CARMARTHEN TOWN.

In the year 1700 the meeting house of Carmarthen was situated at Llanllwch, and the Monthly Meeting held at Redstone, 19, ii., 1700, allowed ten shillings for payment of rent.

A new meeting house was built in 1747-8, when subscriptions were collected among Friends in different parts of the country. David Morgan, glover of the town, sold to Thomas Morgan, malster, a plot of land in Gell Street, later called Geer Street, now known as Lammas Street, as a site for the building,<sup>1</sup> which he sold to Peter Young and others in 1748. Carmarthen Quakers suffered heavily for refusing to pay tithes. John Morgan, impropriator, seized goods from John Allen, of St. Peter's Parish, in 1748—£4 worth of hay for eight shillings' tithe. The process was repeated the following year. In 1751 John Allen and William Reynolds were distressed by the same person through his tithe—farmers, £6 worth of hay for tithes valued twelve shillings. In 1763 John Allen and his wife removed to London.<sup>2</sup>

In 1763, David Davies was sued for church rates, when two constables took two yards and a half of stuff from him, worth 12/3. The warrant cost 4/-.

Carmarthen was the favoured venue of the Monthly Meeting for many years, which signifies that it was not only central, but that more Quakers lived in the district than in other towns in South Wales. The meetings began at nine o'clock in the morning as a rule, and the same faithful few attended: John Allen, Lewis William, Jacob David, Thomas John, Philip Rees, William Evan, Thomas Price, William Reynolds, Thomas John Phillip.

In 1826, William Johns desired to rent the meeting house at Carmarthen for a school. Six years later he was anxious to give it up. In 1831 a minute was passed at the Monthly Meeting Swansea desiring the Half Yearly Meeting to authorize the sale of Carmarthen Meeting House and burial ground, which was sanctioned at Hay, 13, iv., 1831. The property passed into the hands of E. D. Evans, Carmarthen, for £115, "on condition that the burial ground be not disturbed." Elizabeth Davies, widow, was buried there in 1762, David Davies in 1781, and Emma Jones, widow, aged 77, in 1819.

#### PENYBANK.

William Reynolds and Thomas Price were appointed, at the Monthly Meeting, held at Penybank on the 5, i., 1758, to have a new meeting house at Caeglas, near New Inn, to be recorded at the next Quarter Sessions.

On 1, vii., 1762, a new deed was drawn up at the request of the Monthly Meeting, of above date, at Penybank, for the graveyard at Llandovery, where all the old trustees were

<sup>1</sup> *Carm. Antiq. Journal.*

<sup>2</sup> Minutes of Monthly Meeting.

dead, except two—Rees Price and John Bowen. Thomas Price had charge of this document, and the new trustees were: John Lewis of Haverfordwest, Thomas Roberts of Neath, Paul Bevan, Henry Squire, and William Edwards of Swansea, David Davies, and William Reynolds of Carmarthen.

In 1763 it was decided to hold a week-day meeting at Penybanc on the 5th day at eleven o'clock.

#### PEN PLACE.

The Monthly Meeting was held at this place several times during 1757-60. On the 7, iv., 1757, it was resolved that "the Minute relating to the new meeting house is to continue." This refers to the Minute passed at Penbank, 5, ii., 1757—"As Friends are not satisfied to keep their meeting at Pen Place any further, this meeting appoints Jacob David and Lewis William to look for a convenient place for a meeting house, and agree for the same." On the 5, v., 1757, Jacob David and Lewis William reported that they had agreed with Evan Rees, of Llandilo parish, for building a new meeting house for £15 10s. od. annually, for the term of 99 years. The meeting left the matter in their charge to accomplish it.

#### NEW INN, LLANDOVERY.

Quakers were numerous in the district of Llandovery at one time, and in several journals we have accounts of meetings held there by travelling ministers. At the Half Yearly Meeting, Hay, 30, iv., and 1, v., 1799, a Minute was passed to enquire into the deeds of meeting houses and burial grounds in the counties of Pembroke, Carmarthen, and Glamorgan. The meeting house at New Inn, Carmarthen, was declared to be in a bad repair and of no further use to Friends. Attached to it was a graveyard.

Job Thomas was minister at New Inn for many years. He was a persuasive, clear, and fluent preacher in Welsh. He lived upon a small farm, and was known for his cordial hospitality. Griffith Owen, of North Wales, a Friend, suffered much through a famine, and was in debt for £70. He visited Job Thomas, who said: "Well Griffith, I will keep thee as long as thou like to stay to try and help thee to pay thy debt." Job Thomas was a welcome visitor in all the Welsh meetings, but in 1797 his usefulness as a minister was hindered owing to an accident which befell him. He was thrown off his horse, and suffered from injury to the spine. A carriage was presented to him by a Pontypool Friend, and although New Inn was five miles away, and the road rough,



he attended there with his wife and son Joseph. He could only move his head, his other limbs were limp, nevertheless, he dictated epistles, and ministered to the spiritual needs of the people. The Half Yearly Meeting at Welshpool, 25 and 26, iv., 1798, reported that the printing of the extract from Hugh Turford's grounds of a Holy life was delayed because of his illness. The matter was still left in his charge. Died 15, viii., 1807, and buried at Brynmaen.

#### LAUGHARNE.

In the year 1700 Quakers were strong at Laugharne. Ministers who kept journals refer pleasantly to meetings held in that quiet, delightful spot. The description of Madam Bevan, given by Player, will be recalled. An etchnig of the Quaker cottage, Laugharne, by Matthews, is in the possession of the writer. Sketched in 1840.

The old meeting house and garden were sold to T. Stork for £80 in 1824, and J. T. Price, Neath Abbey, and Bevington Gibbins, were desired by the Monthly Meeting to attend to the business. Robert Eaton was appointed to receive the money, and place it at interest for the benefit of the Monthly Meeting.

Many faithful members of the Society were buried at Laugharne. Mary Stafford, daughter of R. and Mary Stafford, interred 10, xii., 1696.

#### EMIGRANTS, AND THE DATE OF THEIR DEPARTURE.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Edward, of Brynmaen, Llandilo parish, yeoman, with wife, Elinor, 1713.

Harry Rees Harry, of Cwm Cawlid district, 1693.

Rees Howell, Cilycwm, husbandman, 1699.

Ann Jones, widow, with her daughter, 1684.

David Jones, Carmarthen Town, 1682. Purchased 125 acres of land from John Bevan, Treferrig.

Matthew Jones, Carmarthen Town, 1682. Bought 125 acres of John Bevan.

Howell Powell, Llansadwrn, yeoman, about 1713.

Philip Rhydderch, 1690, aged 62. Died, Newtown, Chester, at the age of 102 in September, 1730, having lived in the State forty years. Of him Benjamin Franklin wrote, "He was a man of peaceable disposition, very religious, and remarkable for his temperance, having never been overcome with drink during his whole life."

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<sup>1</sup> Compiled from Glenn's *Welsh F. of Penn.*, Vol. I.

David William, of Llandilo Fawr parish, gentleman, with his family, 1693.

James Thomas, Llanboidy, 1686, with wife and son.

Morgan James, 1690 ; David Thomas, before 1700 ; James Williams, of Cilycwm, 1699.

## PEMBROKESHIRE.

Whether Thomas Holme was the first Quaker missionary to visit Pembrokeshire or not we cannot decide, but he was an early promulgator, according to his own letter to Margaret Fell in 1656.<sup>1</sup>

"The last week I was in Pembrokeshire. It's called 'Little England beyond Wales.' The most of that county is English. The Lord hath a people there. In Tenby, which stands upon the eye (edge?) of the sea, I had five meetings. Four of them I had at the Mayor's house, and the other at his brother's. A great convincement then is there : truly the Lord hath a great work here, away in the south of Wales and Monmouthshire. The Mayor of Tenby and his wife are pretty Friends,<sup>2</sup> and his brother and sister, and many others in the town hath a true love and true desires in them. A justice there is in the town, which came to meetings the last First Day, and his brother, and many of them called gentle folks have a true love in them. My spirit was large towards them ; they receive the truth in the love of it. I lay four nights in the Mayor's house, and a Welshman with me I took along, which is serviceable.

"We passed to Pembroke Town. In that town there is one of the aldermen convinced, and a shoemaker. And from thence we passed to Haverfordwest, the greatest town in Wales, and there a merchant of the town is convinced. And we got a meeting that night of near two hundred people at his house in that town."

In 1657, George Fox paid a visit to the county. "From this place (Leominster) I travelled on in Wales, having several meetings, till I came to Tenby, where, as I rode up the street, a justice of peace<sup>3</sup> came out of his house, desired me to alight, and stay at his house ; and I did so. On First Day,

<sup>1</sup> *Swarthmore MSS.* Letter from T. H., "concerning his wife," dated 26, iv., 1656 (old style).

<sup>2</sup> Holme must have found Quakers at Tenby as well as made many. Thomas Barrett was Mayor for a term.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Barrett most probably, who was Mayor the previous year after the death of John Sayes (who died during office).

the Mayor and his wife and several of the chief of the town came in about ten and stayed all the time of the meeting. A glorious one it was. John ap John being then with me left it and went to the Steeple-house, and the governor cast him into prison. On the second morning the governor sent one of his officers to the justice's house to fetch me, which grieved the Mayor and the justice, for they were both with me in the justice's house when the officer came. So the Mayor and the justice went up to the governor before me; and after a while I went up with the officer. When I came in I said, 'Peace be unto this house,' and before the governor could examine me I asked him why he cast my Friend into prison. He said, 'For standing with his hat on in Church.' I said, 'Had not the priest<sup>1</sup> two caps on his head, a black one, and a white one? Cut off the brims of his hat, and then my Friend would have but one, and the brims of the hat are but to defend him from the weather.' 'These are frivolous things,' said the governor.<sup>2</sup> 'Why then,' said I, 'dost thou cast my friend into prison for such frivolous things?' Then he asked me whether I owned election and reprobation. 'Yes,' I said, 'and thou art in the reprobation.' At that he was in a rage, and said he would send me to prison till I proved it; but I said I would prove that quickly if he would confess truth. Then I asked him whether wrath, fury, rage, and persecution were not marks of reprobation; for he that was born of the flesh persecuted him that was born of the Spirit; but Christ and His disciples never persecuted nor imprisoned any. Then he fairly confessed that he had too much wrath, haste, and passion in him. I told him Esau was up in him, the first birth, not Jacob, the second birth. The Lord's power so reached and came over him that he confessed to truth: and the other justice came and shook me kindly by the hand.

"As I was passing away I was moved to speak to the governor again, and he invited me to dine with him, and set my Friend at liberty. I went back to the other justice's house; and after some time the Mayor and his wife, the justice and his wife, and divers other Friends of the town went about half a mile out of town with us, to the water side, when we went away; and there, when we parted from them, I was moved of the Lord to kneel down with them and pray to the Lord to preserve them. So, after I had recommended them to the Lord Jesus Christ, their Saviour and free Teacher, we

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<sup>1</sup> Edward Carver was priest during the Commonwealth, having replaced John Roch, d. 1670.

<sup>2</sup> Tenby was a walled town. Cromwell's governor was an officer expert in theology as well as war, no doubt.

passed away in the Lord's power, and the Lord had the glory. A meeting continues in that town to this day."

"We travelled to Pembrokeshire, and in Pembroke had some service for the Lord. Thence we passed to Haverfordwest, where we had a great meeting, and all was quiet. The Lord's power came over all, and many were settled in the new Covenant, Christ Jesus, and built upon Him their rock and foundation: and they stand a precious meeting to this day. Next day, being their Fair day, we passed through it, and sounded the day of the Lord and His Everlasting Truth amongst them."

With the possible exception of Radnorshire, English-speaking Quakers succeeded better in the Anglicised parts of Pembrokeshire than in the Welsh districts.<sup>1</sup>

In 1665, Richard Davies, of Welshpool, came to the house of Lewis Davies, of Llanddewi Velfrey, where he was gladly received, and staying there some time he visited Redstone, and preached to a crowd in the open air. At Redstone he met Meredith Edwards, who was not considered fit to preach as Quaker. Davies wisely avoided conflict with Edwards, and the two soldiers (sons of a priest) who brought him his horse, which he had left at Llanddewi, and whose warrant were their swords and pistols. They acted as highwaymen, but Davies, unafraid, rode away and told them that, if wanted by a magistrate, he would be found at the house of Bateman, at Haverfordwest. During this visit he saw great service in Pembrokeshire.<sup>2</sup>

In 1668, Richard Davies and Thomas Ellis arrived late at night, or in the small hours of the morning, at Puncteston, and were admitted by Thomas Simmons into his house. They visited all the meetings in the county.<sup>3</sup> John Burnyeat, in company with John ap John, or alone, visited Pembrokeshire in 1667, 1668-9, 1675, and 1676. He saw great things as a result of his ministry, and likewise Hugh Roberts at Haverfordwest and Redstone, in 1697, when on a visit to Wales from Pennsylvania.

The Quakers in Pembrokeshire were pretty free from harsh treatment till the death of Oliver Cromwell,<sup>4</sup> but afterward they suffered heavily. The following brief analysis will shew what they endured. About 110 suffered for various

<sup>1</sup> David Salmon, Esq., M.A., published recently an excellent account of Quakers in Pembrokeshire.

<sup>2</sup> *Autobiography of R. Davies*, 1794 ed., pp. 90-94.

<sup>3</sup> *Autobiography of R. Davies*, 1794 ed., pp. 98-103.

<sup>4</sup> Cromwell, owing to anti-Puritan rising in Pembrokeshire, had selected strong Puritans as magistrates. These were tolerant of new religious doctrines, judging by their treatment of Holme and Fox.



causes. For attending meetings 48 were committed to gaol, and for refusing the oath of allegiance, 8 ; for refusing to remove the hat, 8 ; for standing in Church, 2 ; after excommunication 3 were committed ; for refusing to pay 2d. (tithe), one was excommunicated ; one died in gaol. For excessive distraint, for fines (absence from Church, etc.), 15 ; excessive distraint for tithes, 90 ; ditto, for Church dues (repairs, etc.), 3 ; ditto, for wines and munitions, 8 ; and beaten without law, 3.

The long list of sufferings in the county prove how numerous the Quakers were in the early years of the Restoration. Among the places where Quakers were persecuted the following shew how wide-spread their influence :—Castle Blythe, Hacket, Haverfordwest, Henry's Moat, Uzmaston, Llanddewi Velfrey, Llandysilio, Llanycefn, Narberth, Puncheston, Redstone, Robeston Wathen, Reynalton, Rudbaxton, Tenby, Spittal, and Wiston. In the course of years about nine Yearly Meetings for Wales were held in the county.

#### SUFFERERS.

1659. The Mayor of Haverfordwest (Lewis Barron ?) committed to the house of correction James Jones, "for standing before the minister, in the Steeple-house there, to the amazement, both of him and the people." For a like cause William Thomas, of Llandey (Llanddewi ?) was also imprisoned.

Elizabeth Holme preached to many at meetings in Pembrokeshire. Adam Hawkins,<sup>1</sup> priest of Haverfordwest, attended one of these meetings, and at first raised some opposition, but later confessed "that he did believe her to be a woman that converted many souls to God," and promised, "that if she should come to his Parish he would give her opportunity of speaking to the people." Elizabeth Holme and Alice Birkett accepted an invitation to William Bateman's<sup>2</sup> house, where they were arrested at a large meeting, and sent to the house of correction. The gaoler was rough at first, but beholding their Christian demeanour became kind, and permitted them to have meetings in gaol, during

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<sup>1</sup> According to Francis Gawler he heard Eliz. Holme in the house of Thomas Barrett, Tenby.

<sup>2</sup> William Bateman was connected with one of the chief families of Haverfordwest. Between 1605 and 1750 the office of Mayor was filled thirteen times by a Bateman, and the office of Sheriff (for town and county) the same number of times. Bateman appears often in the lists. Gawler states that the Royalists were his enemies because he had sided with the "honest party" during the Commonwealth period—the Puritans.

the fourteen days pending Quarter Sessions. The hypocrite Adam Hawkins visited the women, and stated that "he had no hand in their commitment," for which deception they reproved him, aware of the influence he had exercised over the magistrates. At the Sessions one of the justices who imprisoned the women, on being told that the priest had endeavoured to clear himself of all implication in the affair, stated publicly: "that the priest would not let the justices be quiet till they sent them to prison." The priest was openly reprimanded by the justices "for his hypocrisy, and the women were set at liberty." Alice Birkett, a few days later, caused offence to the Mayor by certain words, which she addressed to him in the street, and was sent to Bridewell prison, where she remained for two days, and then sent out of the town with a pass. The officers, however, before she had journeyed far, allowed her to go whither she would.

William Bateman was imprisoned for having a meeting in his house.

1661. On the 6 August, Lewis David and Susan, his wife, James Lewis, Alice Lewis, Evan Jones, and William Thomas, of Llanddewi, were sent to gaol pending their trial at the Assizes. On being asked to give a security that they would no longer attend meetings, they refused to give such an undertaking, with the result that they were re-committed. Ten others were added to them: Thomas Simons and his wife, Jane, and their three sons—Hugh, John, and Evan Simons; Ursula Simons, Lawrence Edward, Henry Edward, David Edward, and Margaret Edward. Cruel was the treatment meted to these innocent people, and they had for companions "felons and murderers, who took away their food, pick't their pockets, and many ways abused them." The hardships of a winter without fire told their tale upon many of them who were aged and fell sick. Their hands were swollen and their bodies turned black. Two Winters passed thus before they were tried at the Assizes; and then the evidence was not sufficient that they had been at a meeting, so were liberated after a cruel and unjust commitment.

The following were taken at a meeting on 21st September:—William Bateman, and Sarah, his wife; James Jones; Henry Relief, and Elizabeth, his wife; Morgan Eyron, and Joan, his wife, all of Haverfordwest, and sent to prison because they refused to give bail that they would not attend such a meeting again. The following year they were brought before the Assizes, when the men were fined £5 each, and the women 5 marks each. These fines they refused to pay so all were sent to Bridewell, except William Bateman, whose

goods were distressed to pay the fine of £5. The rest were confined at Bridewell for three months.

Edmund Williams, David Simonds, John Howel, and Richard Poole were arrested at the house of William Bateman, Haverfordwest, and lodged in the town prison, and in two days the first three were sent, by the magistrates, to the house of correction, while Richard Poole remained in prison till a favourable wind came to send him to his home in Ireland. A whipping was ordered for him before his departure from Haverfordwest.

1662. For refusing the oath of allegiance, in the month of August, Nell Woolford, Mary Edol, Elizabeth Luntly, Nell Griffith, and Katherine Lockier, of Haverfordwest, were committed to close confinement in gaol.

In September, while on their way to a meeting at Haverfordwest, Humphrey Williams and Rebecca, his wife; Abigail, the wife of William Gray; John Howell; Rebecca Williams, junior, were arrested, and kept in prison for some days.

1663. For appearing at the Assizes with their hats on, William Fortune, John Davis, and Humphrey Williams were sent to gaol for some days in the month of April.

1666. Hugh Lloyd, of Haverfordwest, and Edward Lord were committed to the gaol of that town for refusing to swear. Hugh Lloyd died during his incarceration. Hugh Simonds and Lawrence Edwards were imprisoned for absence from Church worship.

1684. Robert Cornock, Rice Harris, Thomas William, Thomas Kent, Henry Evan, Thomas David, Griffith Morgan, Richard White, James Lewis, and Elizabeth Howel were sent to gaol at Haverfordwest for absence from national worship. On 14th July in the same year, and for the same cause, Evan Bowen, John Howel, Howel Griffith, and John Hilline were detained in the same place. On Sessions process William Owen, Maurice Owen, Francis Simonds, and Philip Price were sent to prison, and upon writs *De Excommunicato capiendo* Henry Cleaton, David Williams, and John Lewis were committed to the same gaol.

*Distresses.*—The Quakers in Pembrokeshire suffered the loss of many goods because they refused to pay tithes, church rates, and Militia charges. The following furnish the most outstanding instances:—

1662. John Williams, for £1 tithes lost a horse worth £4. William Thomas, of Llanddewi, for £2 tithes had a horse and mare worth £5 taken from him.

1667. Thomas Simonds, of Puncteston, for 10/- tithes, lost goods worth 26/-; and Lawrence Edwards for 18/8 tithes, goods valued £5.

1670. For tithes from Lewis David, Llanddewi, £5, goods worth £12; William Thomas, ditto, £2, goods worth £5; Lewis James for £1, goods worth £8.

For suffering meetings at their houses, Thomas Simonds, of Puncheston, and others were cruelly distressed. Cattle worth £24 were taken away from Simonds and sold at £8. Later, household goods worth £1 6s. od. were disposed of for 7/-, yet a third time, corn, hay, and thatch, worth £20, were sold for £5, of which sum a third was ordered at the Sessions to be given to the poor. But the poor refused such money when offered to them, because they believed in the innocence of Simonds, and also because of his charitable deeds unto them.

William Thomas, of Llanddewi, for a fine of 5/-, was arrested by constables, and an informer, who demanded his horse. When he asked for their warrant he was answered, "Sirrah, do you question the King's power?" Struck with a great staff on the head and shoulders by the informer he was dragged off his horse, which was sold for £3 14s. A pan worth £1 1s. od. was also taken from him, and all for a 5/- fine.

Lewis David for a fine of £20, had all his corn and hay taken, worth £25, which were sold at £8, and inasmuch as these were all his effects in Pembrokeshire, the justices sent a certificate to distress his goods in Carmarthenshire, where he had land and a house. Cattle, corn, hay, and bedding worth £36 were taken, which they sold for £8. Goods worth £61 were seized for a fine of £20, and yet they complained that £4 were still remaining of the original demand.

John Husband, of Narberth, was deprived of all his corn and hay worth £25, and at another time he lost cattle worth £1 9s. od.

Evan Protherah, of Narberth, had goods worth £8 10s. od. taken from him; and Littler Thomas,<sup>1</sup> a poor labouring man for a fine of 5/-, lost his bedclothes worth 15/-.

The distresses for meetings in Wales this year amounted to £274 16s. od.

1671. Henry Lewis, of Trewern, Redstone, goods worth £5, for 25/- tithes; Lewis David, of Llanddewi, goods worth £11 19s. 8d., for tithes this, and the following year.

1673. Several cartloads of corn were taken from Henry Lewis by the servants of Michael Owen, priest of Narberth. Under pretence of tithes Lewis lost a good deal of his provender for the family, and was compelled to buy much in consequence.

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<sup>1</sup> He belonged perhaps to North Wales.



1674. Lewis David, of Llanddewi had taken, away from him a fifth part of his corn by Evan Harris, tithefarmer and Nicholas Roberts, priest; Evan Protherah for 20/- tithes, was deprived of three cartloads of hay and corn.

1675. Jane Simons, Puncheston, was deprived of a lamb for tithes; Joseph Griffiths, a horse worth £1 10s. od., for 8/- tithes; other sufferers for the same cause were John Burgh, Maurice Cole, Lewis David, Henry Lewis, and William Jenkin.

Edward Lord, of Haverfordwest, for refusing the oath of allegiance was fined £5, for which goods were taken worth £11—a silver tankard, cloth, and other things.

For absence from church goods worth £1 15s. od. were taken from John Burge, Henry Lewis, and Evan Protherch.

1676. For refusing to pay his portion toward the repairing of churches, Henry Lewis, of Narberth, lost his Bible, and a shovel worth 6/2; Jane Simons, of Puncheston, an Iron, valued at 5/-; and William Thomas goods worth £2 18s. od.

1677. Lewis David, Henry Lewis, and John Burge were distrained for refusing to pay toward the county Militia.

1678. For this and the preceding year the Quakers in Pembrokeshire lost corn, hay, lambs, and other goods, which were taken for tithes. Lewis David, of Llanddewi, £11 4s. 6d. Jane and Thomas Simonds, £6 3s. 6d.; Lewis James, of Llangolman, £4 12s. 6d.; William Thomas, of Llawhaden, £12 3s. 6d.; Evan Protherah, of Narberth, £1 9s. od.; Maurice Cole, £9 os. 10d.; John Harris, of Hasket, £7 1s. od.; John Burge, of Haverfordwest, 5/-; Richard Evan, of Llandisilio, £1 10s. od.; Hugh Simonds, and John Simonds, £7 15s. 6d.; Henry Lewis, of Narberth, £4 11s. 1d.; Evan Simons, of Herrings Moat, 14/8; Maurice Llywellin, £2 18s. 10d.; William Jenkins, of Tenby, 14/-; David Lawrence, £1 17s. od.; Lewis Harry, of Robeston,<sup>1</sup> £2 10s. od.; James Thomas, of Haverfordwest, £7 1s. 6d.; James Thomas, of Llanboidy, £3 7s. od.; Edward and John Griffiths, £3 6s. od.; a total of £93 5s. 5d.

During 1677-8 for absence from Church the following had their goods distressed:—Lewis David, of Llanddewi, £2 11s. 8d.; William Owen, of Spittle,<sup>2</sup> 12/6; Evan Simons, of Herring's Moat, a colt and mare worth £1 18s. od.; James James, Maurice Cole, and Richard Hay, £1 7s. od.; Richard White, George Lewis, and John Lewis, £4 6s. 6d.; Mary Lywelin, John Harris, and Evan Thomas, 17/8; Evan John, William Thomas, and William Hillay, £2 os. 8d.; Thomas

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<sup>1</sup> Robeston Wathen.

<sup>2</sup> Spittal.

Willis, of Reignalton,<sup>1</sup> 16/-; and David Lawrence, of Punctheston, 11/-. Total, £15 1s. od.

1684. Distresses for the militia cost David Hitchins, of Tenby, £1 16s. od.; William Jenkins, Tenby, £1 9s. od.; John Burgess, of Haverfordwest, 2/1; and Arthur Bewes, 4/-. Total, £3 11s. 1d.

By distresses for tithes this year, corn, hay, wool, lambs were taken away from a large number of Friends—George Lewis, of Llandysilio Parish, goods worth 6/-; Lewis David, of Llanddewi Parish, £6 4s. od.; Thomas Griffith, of Llanykeven Parish, £2 10s. 6d.; Lewis James, of Llangolman Parish, £2 1s. 4d.; Thomas Simons, of Punctheston Parish, £1 13s. 10d.; Hugh Simonds and John Simonds, £2 10s. od.; William Jenkins, of Tenby, 1/6; Edward Lord, Rudbarton<sup>2</sup> Parish, £5 os. od.; James James, of Wiston Parish, 4/6; William Owen, of Spittall Parish; Richard Hay, of Ilmiston<sup>3</sup> Parish, £4 9s. od. Total, £25 7s. 8d.

1687-90.—Lewis David, of Llanddewi Parish, goods to the value of £16 13s. 10d.; Lewis James, of Llangolman Parish, £2 3s. 2d.; Thomas Simons, of Punctheston, £4 1s. 6d.; George Lewis, Llandysilio Parish, £7 18s. 6d.; Evan Bowen, Prendergrast, £6 11s. od.; Philip Rudderch, Killycomb (Cilycwm), £5 7s. 10d.; Morgan John and Elizabeth John, £1 3s. 6d.; John Robins and Griffith Jones, £9 11s. 8d.; David Rice, of Llanddewi, £8 2s. 8d. John Poyer, of Robeston Parish, £11 15s. od.; Francis Lloyd, of Prendergrast Parish, £3 1s. od.; Peregrine Musgrave, Martin's Parish, 5/6; John Howel and John Simons, £2 18s. 10d.; Edward Lloyd, of Rudbaxton, £3 os. od.

## MEETINGS.

At present, there is but one regular meeting for worship in the county—Milford Haven.

After 1829 Pembrokeshire became dependent upon visiting ministers. Its Monthly Meeting ceased as a separate body in that same year, and its members were reduced to fourteen. No convincement took place in the county during the first three decades of last century. In 1800 the following had meetings for worship:—

## Haverfordwest.

When Quakerism was founded the town of Haverfordwest was the largest in Wales. The first publishers of Truth

<sup>1</sup> Reynalton.

<sup>2</sup> Rudbaxton.

<sup>3</sup> Uzmaston.

rendered great service to the cause there—Thomas and Elizabeth Holme, Alice Birkett, George Fox, John ap John, and Richard Davies. Its meeting flourished for many years after the emigration to Pennsylvania began. The name of Haverford was given to an important meeting house in the New State. Monthly Meetings were once popular in the town. During 1800—1857 the only member added by conviction to the Church was George Phillips, known locally as the Quaker. He adorned the profession of his faith.

The burial ground lies on the Mount, Portfield.<sup>1</sup> Among those who emigrated were, Hannah Hardyman, David Jones, George Painter, and Francis Lloyd.

#### REDSTONE.

Near Narberth, about a mile north of Narberth Castle. This was once the centre of great Quaker activity, but “runnings” to Pennsylvania weakened it. In 1800 regular meetings for worship were held there. Redstone will be remembered as the place where, what was considered to be, the first Yearly Meeting for Wales, was held on 5, ii., 1682. Thomas Ellis was asked to acquaint the Quarterly meetings of North Wales of the recommendation passed to have Friends’ books translated into Welsh.

At the Half-Yearly Meeting, Brecon, 27, vii., 1799, an agreement was made with Thomas John for occupying and keeping in good repair, the meeting house.

A Quaker wedding was solemnized at Redstone Meeting House in 1816, between Sarah Lewis and Henry Knight, Radcliffe M.M. when part of the roof had fallen into decay. Knight, the husband, died somewhere near Swansea. in 1863. Four years later the whole building fell into ruins.

In 1700 the case of Carmarthen Meeting House, Llanllwch, was considered at the Monthly Meeting, held at Redstone, on the 19<sup>th</sup>, of the second month, when the sum of ten shillings was subscribed toward payment of rent.

The burial ground for Redstone lies half way between Llanddewi Velfrey and Whitland. Members who emigrated—Thomas Ellis, Francis Jones, Daniel Lewis, John Rice.

#### PUNCHESTON.

The Cause flourished at this place for over a century and a half. Regular meetings were held there in the year 1800. Richard Davies has a stirring account of a visit made by him and Thomas Ellis to PuncHESTON in 1668. Travelling from Cardigan they were overtaken by darkness and rain,

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<sup>1</sup> Westhook was the early Machpelah of Quakers in the county.

and had narrow escapes among turf, or peat-pits. Davies, remembering an experience he had had at Puncheston before, asked the guide, "where the Steeple house door was," for the Friends' house (Thomas Simmonds) was opposite to it. Having found it Thomas Ellis called out, that Friends who had lost their way desired lodging for the night. From within came an answer that "no good Friends were out at that time of night." Davies then desired Thomas Simmonds to rise and let them in. After a few words in Welsh they were admitted, and "were satisfied in the love of God<sup>1</sup>" This was Ellis's first visit to Pembrokeshire after his conviction. The majority of Quakers at Puncheston were Welsh-speaking.

Martel burial ground, about half a mile east of Newcastle, served the Quakers in the district of Puncheston.

#### MILFORD.

Milford did not exist as a town till the arrival of Quaker immigrants from Nova Scotia, in 1793. They came across as whalers at the invitation of the British Government.

Thomas Owen, a Quaker from Waterford, in answer to a letter which he received from Samuel Starbuck, who was concerned about the advantages and disadvantages that might attend Friends settling at Milford to carry on whale fishery, said: "Meeting of Friends. A small one in Haverfordwest."

*Advantages.*—People civil and hospitable, no great capacity for business except farming, coal mines, slate or lime-stone quarries, great number of hardy watermen employed at herring fishery, carrying lime, coal, and culm round the coast, and oyster-dragging. Wages small. Milford central about 18 hours sail to Bristol, Cork, and Dublin; 10 to Waterford, and about 24 to Liverpool.

*Disadvantages.*—Little or no oil, bone, etc., can be disposed of in Milford Haven. Timber for ship building or repairing convenient, and the wages of shipwrights not exceeding half a crown a day.

With the letter went a plan of Milford Haven. Nangle and Lawrenny, then important villages though small, were marked. At the latter place "great ships were loaded with coal for London, and culm for Gibraltar."

After some consideration the Quaker whale fishers solicited the aid of the British Government to remove their property to Milford Haven. The land between Hubberston and Castle Pill, belonging to Sir William Hamilton, suited their purpose, and they wished to transport 25 families, 13 ships

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<sup>1</sup> *Autobiography of R. D.*, 1794 ed., p. 103.



of an average tonnage of 75, and a complement of 182 men. Each ship owner was to enjoy free accommodation for shipping at Hubberston and Castle Pill according to agreement, and "easy accommodation, protection, and preference to the Friends, for a pepper corn rent the site of a meeting house, burying ground, and exemption from all ground rents for two years, from Midsummer, 1791.

In 1801, Abigail, the wife of Samuel Starbuck, died and Benjamin Rotch, her nephew, applied to Greville, the agent of Sir William Hamilton, for a plot of ground where her body might be interred. "I enclose," wrote Greville, "a line to Mr. Barrallier to set out a lot of the dimensions you desire in the spot your uncle (Samuel Starbuck) has often mentioned as suitable for a meeting house and burial ground at the back of Pritchard's shop." Pritchard's shop was in Charles Street, which ran parallel with Hamilton Terrace. The burial ground is reached by turning to the left up Priory Street. Here lie the immigrants come to their last post—Starbucks, Folgers, Rotches, and others, chasers of the mighty whale.

At the Half Yearly for Wales, held at Brecon, 25 and 26 of 8<sup>mo</sup>, 1801, Samuel Starbuck, junior, merchant, and Paul Starbuck, grocer, both of Milford town, were appointed trustees, with others, of the burial places of Loughor, Bryn Maen, and Cae Newydd, in place of the old trustees who had died.

The meeting at Milford flourished while the settlers lived, but many of their descendants married out of the Society. In 1920 a grand-daughter of Samuel Starbuck, junior,—Lucretia Starbuck, then an octogenarian, lived at Bath. Dr. Alfred Starbuck, Milford, who died in 1915, was the grandson of Alfred, son of Paul Starbuck. True to his convictions, Daniel Starbuck refused to pay church tithes to the incumbent of Stainton, in whose parish Milford stood in 1811, for which sum goods were seized at his stores.

The Rotch family, which settled at Dunkirk, removed to Milford early in the last century.

#### EMIGRANTS.

*Settlers in Haverford Co., Pa., and other States,  
and the date of their departure.<sup>1</sup>*

Thomas Ellis, of Redstone Meeting, 1683, certificate dated 2, vii., 1683.

Hannah Hardyman, Haverfordwest, 1683. Married Samuel

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<sup>1</sup> Glenn's *Welsh Founders of Penna*, Vol. I.

Carpenter, merchant, Philadelphia. [*Vide Carpenter Genealogy, and Lloyd and Carpenter Families.*]

Rees Hent, Llanddewi Parish, yeoman, settled at Newtown, Pa., 1688. Returned, and took his family with him to the State in 1694.

Jane Humphries, Haverfordwest, maid, in service of George Painter, 1683.

Alice James (Lewis), of Llanddewi Velfrey parish, spinster. Settled in Montgomery, co., before 1710. Married Hugh Evans, of Gwynedd.

David Jones, Haverfordwest, husbandman, 1699.

Francis Jones, of Redstone Meeting, husbandman, 1711.

Daniel Jones, Redstone, 1701-2.

Matthias Martin, of South Wales, 1682. Settled in Charles-town, Chester co. Married and had three children.

George Painter, Haverfordwest, 1683, with wife and two children.

John Rice, Redstone Meeting, minor, with consent of parents removed 1696.

John Rowland, of Rhosybayvill, gentleman, 1715. Settled in Chester co., wife and children.

James Rowland, brother, Chester co., 1700.

Evan Thomas, of Llanycefn Parish, yeoman, 1683. Purchased 250 acres in 1682.

Owen Thomas, visited Pennsylvania in 1719, and remained in all probability.

Simeon Thomas, husbandman, 1708.

Settled in Haverford, Pa.—Morgan David, Lithren's Castle; Francis Howell, Llandysilio, 1684; William Howell, Castle Bight parish, 1683; Francis Lloyd, Haverfordwest, 1686; William David, 1685; Thomas Owen, before 1692; Lewis David, Llanddewi Velfrey, 1690, and Lewis, his son; Thomas Ellis, 1683; Richard Hayes, Ilmiston parish, 1687, and sons, Richard and John; William Jenkins, Tenby, before 1685; David Lawrence, 1683; Henry Lewis, Narberth, 1683; John Lewis, 1683; Morris Llewelyn, Castle Bight parish, 1686; John Scourfield, Narberth.

## CARDIGANSHIRE.

Quakerism did not spread in Cardiganshire as in the other counties of South Wales, although, in the earliest years of the movement, considering the population, a fair number suffered imprisonment, as recorded. Margaret Watson, of Llannano, widow, mentioned by Besse, has been put down by some writers as of Llanio, Cardiganshire. Besse was

correct, for Llannano is in Radnorshire. Why Quakerism failed to take deep root in Cardiganshire is rather puzzling. George Fox settled meetings there, no doubt, in 1657, but the Quakers never had a separate meeting house in the county.

In *Aberystwyth and its Court Leet*, we have an account of the meeting at Aberystwyth in 1668<sup>1</sup>, and of the Friends imprisoned there, and at Cardigan. The above also records that in 1775 the Epiphany Sessions ordered, "That a certain place, or House called . . . , situate in the town of Aberystwyth, be set apart for a place of Religious Worship for those people called Quakers."<sup>2</sup>

### SUFFERERS.

1659. Howell Jones, for not putting off his hat, was committed to gaol at Tregaron.<sup>3</sup>

1660. William David, a poor man with a family of five children, who rented land of 50/- per annum, refused to pay a tithe of 20/-, goods, five times the value of the tithe, or double the rent, were taken from him.

1661. Two cows were seized from the same person this year for the tithe, "whose sucking calves for lack of sustenance died."

1664. William Lloyd, Evan David, and John Rhyberth were imprisoned at Tregaron for three months for not attending Church.

William Lloyd and Evan Williams, for the same cause, were sent to gaol at Llanbadarn.

1668. Thomas Ellis was set at liberty from Cardigan prison. Richard Davies, Welshpool, volunteered to take his place in prison, and was on his way thither when he unexpectedly met Thomas Ellis at home, discharged.<sup>4</sup>

### MEETINGS.

#### WERNDRIW, LLANDDEWI BREFI.

Reference is made to Friends at Werndriw in 1709, when John Goodwin, of Esgairgoch, observed two young men of sober and grave deportment at the Yearly Meeting at Llan-doverly. After these young men had departed, Goodwin was concerned about them, but no one knew their names. All he discovered was that they lived in Cardiganshire. He

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Autobiography of R. Davies*, p. 98 ed. 1794.

<sup>2</sup> *Aberystwyth and its Court Leet* by George Eyre Evans, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Besse's *Sufferings*.

<sup>4</sup> *Richard Davies's Autobiography*, 5th ed., 1794, p. 98.

rode to Aberystwyth, and enquired of a Friend there if he knew of them, but could gain no information. Goodwin allowed his horse to take the road, and thus he came to a shepherd near Llanddewi Brefi, who, in answer to a question addressed to him, "if there were any sober religious people in the neighbourhood," said: "that there were two young men and their sister, living near, who were called Quakers. They would not pull off their hats nor go to Church, but did sit, together, without any preaching." "At hearing of which my heart did leap for joy," writes Goodwin. Their names were, Samuel George, John George, and Ann, their sister. In 1753 a meeting was held in the house of the sister, then a widow, Ann Evans.

John Field, in *Piety Promoted* (Fifth Part) gives an account of a zealous young man, Samuel George, a native of this village who died in 1712, at the age of twenty-five, having been a minister for about nine months. In 1717, Richard Heydon died "at the house of our worthy Friend, John George, at Llanddewi Brefi." Heydon, a native of Oddington, Gloucester, was at the time on a visit to the Church of Christ in Wales, but his life was cut off by smallpox. His body was interred at the Friends burial place, Llandovery, 25th October, 1717, aged 67. This seems to prove that as yet there was no Friends burial place at Werndriw.

In 1742, James Gough visited Llanddewi Brefi, and stayed with the widow, Ann Evans, because snow prevented him going to Esgairgoch, as he had intended. Gough gives an interesting account of Daniel Rowland, Llangeitho, then 29 years of age, and of the crowds that gathered from all parts to hear him preach. "People would set out as early as two o'clock in the morning, and walk thirty miles to hear him, others would land in boats at Aberystwyth from the Carnarvonshire peninsula, and walk the rest of the distance, some twenty-three miles." Gough addressed a very large multitude in Llangeitho, from a high tombstone, "a greatly favoured" opportunity, in the morning, after the Church service, and then proceeded to Lampeter for an afternoon meeting.

In 1751, John Griffiths, a native of Radnorshire, who had emigrated to Pennsylvania, visited Wales, and held meetings in his native county. Accompanied by his brother he crossed over "the bleak mountains into Cardiganshire, the wind blowing hard with rain, but through mercy we received little harm thereby." A small poor meeting (silent) was "held at one Evan's, religion being at a low ebb at that place."

In 1753, John Player (d. 1808) spent six weeks in Wales as the companion of William Brown, of Philadelphia. He



writes in his *Journal*: "Being guided by Morgan Price we set forward over the mountains to the widow, Ann Evans, of Werndriw, in the parish of Llanddewi Brefi, at whose house we had a meeting on the morrow." (*Vide Journal* in Appendix.) Werndriw is the only place mentioned in Cardiganshire by John Churchman, an eminent American Friend, brother-in-law of William Brown.

Daniel Evans guided John Player and his friend to John Goodwin's house at Esgairgoch. He was the last of the Quaker family who lived at Garth. The families of Garth and Werndriw seemed to have been the two chief supports of local Quakerism. He was wont to go sometimes to a place beyond Cader Idris to worship with Friends residing there. Daniel Evans died in 1783, and was buried with his kindred in the south-west side of the Werndriw graveyard. The north-east corner contained the mortal remains of the Werndriw family. The Friends burial place at Werndriw seems to have belonged to private owners. John Jenkins, who died in 1790, was buried there, his wife, Ann, and five children. Upon his tombstone is an inscription, the only one in the graveyard. The Monthly Meeting of Werndriw, Penybanc, New House, and Carmarthen possessed copies of *Besse's Sufferings*, and Thomas Story's *Life*, folio edition. Now in the Friends Library at Neath.

Among those buried at Werndriw, were Daniel David, hosier, Llanddewi Brefi, 1784; Ann Jenkins, Werndriw, daughter of John Jenkins, 1784; Anne Amelia, daughter of Daniel Evans, and wife of Charles James, 1846; and Charles James, Llanddewi Brefi, 1852. The graveyard measures about twelve perches, is surrounded by a stone wall, with laurel bushes growing luxuriantly between the graves. The oldest headstones have no inscriptions.

"In this sequestered spot repose the mortal remains of John Jenkins, of Werndriw, and of Anne his wife. She died Sept., 1771, and he, February, 1790. Here also lie buried their five children, Thomas Henry, William, John, Ann Elizabeth, and Maria Letitia. David Joel Jenkins, of Lampeter, the sole surviving child of the said John and Anne Jenkins, placed this tablet in affectionate remembrance of father, mother, brothers, and sisters."

John Jenkins was present at the Monthly Meeting, Carmarthen, 20, xii., 1789, a few weeks before his death.

Sarah Lloyd was the woman representative for Cardiganshire at the Women's Yearly Meeting in 1755.

From 1736—1764, Cardiganshire and Radnorshire formed a Monthly Meeting. In 1764, Cardiganshire and Carmarthen-shire were united into one Monthly Meeting, and in 1787,

they joined the Friends at Swansea, when the Glamorgan Monthly Meeting was formed. In 1836 the South Division of Wales Monthly Meeting was established, which comprised the counties of Cardigan, Carmarthen, Pembroke, Glamorgan, and Monmouth. In 1736 the Yearly Meeting of Wales was held at Cardigan, and in 1785, at Aberystwyth. The latter was attended by Nicholas Waln, of Philadelphia, Patience Brayton, of Swansea Monthly Meeting, New England, and Margaret Shillitoe, London.<sup>1</sup>

## EMIGRANTS

*With the date of their departure.*<sup>2</sup>

John Griffiths, Llanddewi Brefi, son of Griffith John Griffith, gentleman, 1717. Married and had five children. Died, Newtown, Chester Co., 1774.

William Griffith, Llanddewi Brefi, gentleman. Settled at East Town, Pa., 1717. Freeholder. Baptist in Wales. Married and had five children. Died in 1790.

John Howell, Aberystwyth, yeoman, 1697. Married and had three children.

John Jones, yeoman, settled first at Barbadoes then Pennsylvania, 1683. Married.

James Mortimer, 1696. Married and had two children.

Thomas Powell, Llanbadarn Fawr(?), 1698. Freeholder.

Rees Rothers (Rhys ap Rhydderch), Llanwenog parish, yeoman, 1682. Owned 500 acres in the Colony.

## RADNORSHIRE.

The famine of the Word was widespread in Radnorshire when the first heralds of Quakerism made their appearance. The people had been somewhat prepared for the new light, for Vavasor Powell, "the metropolitan" of Welsh itinerants, and Walter Cradock, had broken up the fallow ground. Both had proclaimed against the Presbyterian prejudice, which dubbed unacademic preachers, tub-thumpers, tinkers, and cobblers. The root of the matter was more important than college training. Walter Cradock, in 1652, at Presteign, preached against mere human learning. Powell's attitude towards the State Church was unorthodox, for he had besought Parliament to declare that places consecrated by

<sup>1</sup> We are indebted to F. W. Gibbins Esq., for the loan of his father's notes on *Friends in Cardiganshire*.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Glenn's *Welsh Founders of Penn.*, Vol. I.

bishops had no inherent holiness. His Puritanism forbade him to use the name of Saint in connection with any Church. However, he was not consistent as regards tithes. In 1655, Powell called tithes "a Popish institution," nevertheless, he accepted State assistance as approver and itinerant. His success as itinerant preacher undoubtedly stirred the Welsh Quakers who emulated him in frequent journeyings. Lack of ministers was grievously felt, and the visits of travelling preachers helped to save the country from falling deeper into vice and crime. The Radicalism of Powell prepared the way for Quakerism, for a Republic suited its spirit better than a Protectorate, or Monarchy. In 1654 the intrepid Welsh reformer opposed the Commonwealth, and spared not Cromwell himself; and a justice of New Radnor, Richard King, supported him. Thus the advanced views of Powell and others prepared the ground for the seed of Truth, which bore such marvellous harvests in the county in a few years. Radnorshire became a noted battle-ground of Quaker preachers.

Thomas Holme, in 1654, seemed pleased to report in his letter to George Fox that the Baptist Churches there were "broken in pieces." The Baptists, by a strange irony, have erected chapels on some of the old Quaker sites, for example, Llannano. Alexander Parker,<sup>1</sup> of Holland, Yorkshire, came to Radnorshire in 1656 to bear testimony against the priest, Vavasor Powell.

Peter Price,<sup>2</sup> of Presteign, was an ardent Quaker. Fox refers to him in his journal several times. His wife, Miriam, died in 1675. His death occurred at the house of George Barr, Edmonton, 10, Mar., 1691. Buried in Bunhill Fields.

### SUFFERERS.

1660. Soldiers armed with swords and staves broke up religious meetings in this and other counties by order of Sheriffs and Justices. In Radnorshire the soldiers beat many Quakers without mercy.

1663. In January, the following were sent to gaol until they should take the oath of allegiance. Strange proceeding, for the oath was not offered to them before their imprisonment:—John Moore, David Powell, John Rumson, John Perks, Charles Davies, Evan Pugh, Peter Price, Evan Oliver,

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<sup>1</sup> Sewell's *Hist. of People called Quakers*, Vol. I., p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> His testimony at the funeral of George Fox was most touching. "Another one, Price, a very old man, declared in tears and great tenderness, etc." Vol. II., p. 370.

David James, John Davies, Roger Price, Thomas Bywater, Richard Moore, Evan Morris, David Meredith, David Oliver, Hugh William, John Wooley, James Jones, Robert Watkins, Meredith Oliver, Samuel Price, and John Davies.

David John was arrested on the way from Shrewsbury to Radnor by one, Oakley, and committed to the custody of a marshal, who seized his horse. Being a Quaker he was not allowed to travel.

1683. John Davies, high sheriff of Radnorshire, and James Price, his deputy, entered a Monthly Meeting, 29 Feb., at Llandegley, when one of the members was engaged in prayer. One of the Quakers asked what authority had they to arrest them. This made the enemy angry, and the Friends were taken to an alehouse, and confined in a room, where a guard kept watch. The High Sheriff rode three miles for his kinsman Edward Davies, a justice, to assist him. The Friends were kept in this room all night without fire, and in the morning were sent over the bleak hills to gaol. They were—John Lloyd, Hugh Lloyd, Edward Jones, Roger Hughes, Harry Cleaton, Anne Cleaton, Mary Cleaton, and Amy Phillips. Nathan Woodliff and Owen Humphrey were also committed by warrant the next morning. Owen Humphrey, a preacher, was fined £20 at Knighton for praying at the meeting. All were detained in prison for refusing the oath of allegiance.

1684. Peter Price, 86 years of age, had been prisoner for over three years at the instigation of Robert Lucy, impropriator, for refusal to pay tithes.

John Watson, Robert Watson, and David John Phillips, at this time had been 21 months at Presteign Gaol on *De excommunicato capiendo* writs.

In 1657 the following were distressed for tithes :—Richard Moore for £1 1s. od., goods £6 11s. 4d. ; Margaret Watson for 1/4, 3/4 in goods ; John Berks 6/8 demanded, goods worth £1 10s. od. ; Evan Steven 4/-, goods £2 os. od. ; John ap Evan David for 3/4, £4 2s. od. ; Oliver Howel 5/- demanded, £1 os. od. in goods ; Evan Morris £1 10s. od., £5 10s. od. ; Charles Davies 4/-, worth £1 10s. od. of goods ; Hugh Williams for 8/-, £1 os. od. in goods. For a sum of £4 3s. 4d., goods worth £23 6s. 8d. were taken from the above.

In 1660 Margaret Watson, of Llannano (Rad.), widow, for 4/- required for tithes, was deprived of a cow worth £2. John David, a bullock valued at £2 6s. 8d., for 5/2 tithes. Miles Sykes for 3/- tithes, a cow worth £3. This poor man had several children, and his only cow was taken from him.

Edward Sykes for a fine of 13/- for non-attendance at Church, lost goods worth £1 10s. od. Thirty-two persons were also excommunicated for the same cause.



In 1660, For absence from national worship the following were fined 9/- each, and because they refused to pay goods were distressed :—Richard Moore, 24/- ; David Crowther, 15/- ; James Miles, 46/- ; John Bevan David, 36/8 ; Jane Clayton, widow, 53/4 ; Owen David, 20/- ; Henry Clayton, 10/- ; Edward Evans, 56/8 ; David Meredith, 36/- ; and David Powell, 36/-. For £4 10s. od. fines, goods to the value of £18 3s. 8d. were taken.

In 1662 the following were distressed for refusing to pay church rates :—Richard Moore, for £1, goods worth £1 3s. od. ; Evan Morris for 3/-, goods worth 5/- ; John ap Evan for 4/8, goods worth 8/- ; and Edward Stevens for 9d., goods worth 2/-.

## MEETINGS.

### LLANNANO.

This place has been referred to sometimes as being the same as Llanio, Cardiganshire.

One of the earliest sufferers in the county of Radnor was a widow, Margaret Watson, Llannano. Thomas Holme spent “ two First days in Radnorshire in the mountains,” in the year 1654, where he witnessed many convincements, “ but most are Welsh, and some cannot understand English.” Llannano is, undoubtedly, one of the places implied by him. Its position is about eleven miles from Penybont, and one mile from Crychallt. The new Baptist Chapel was built on the site of the Quaker meeting house in 1801, with the old burial ground attached. Williams, of Maesyrhelem, endowed the new Cause.

### LLANYRE.

This place had a burial ground before a meeting house. Temperance women workers from the Friends Society in America rendered splendid service at Llanyre years ago.

B. J. Elsmere, in 1893, started a mission centre at Llanyre, and later built a chapel.

In 1896 Mr. Elsmere had a controversy with the Vicar of Llanyre about the burial of a child in the parish churchyard. Mr. Elsmere officiated having tendered the proper notification. On leaving for Swansea he was the recipient of an address, purse of gold, and tea service from admirers at Llanyre.

The Friends burial ground was the gift of Goley Morris, of Lower Cilgu. Mr. Hugh D. Williams, of Builth Wells, wrote an article for the *Archæological Cambrensis*, entitled, “ The old burial place of the Society of Friends in Llanyre parish, Radnorshire.”

## COEDEWYDD HILL, NEAR PENYBONT.

At the old thatched meeting house on Coedewydd Hill a splendid educational work has been done by William Knowles, whose reputation as a schoolmaster is not confined to the county of Radnor. Quite a number of public men have received part, or the whole, of their scholastic training at Coedewydd Hill. A powerful revival was witnessed in the neighbourhood of Penybont about forty years ago, when all Christian Churches were benefited. Evangelistic services were held every year in tents, and in the Public Hall, and many received the message. Quaker ministers from all parts came to the annual gatherings. Henry Stanley Newman, of Leominster, father of Sir George Newman, K.C.B., M.D., Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health and Board of Education, acted as leader.

## PALES.

The Quakers have a meeting there since 1663, or earlier. The meeting house and land were the gifts of John Phillips, Lydia, his wife, and Charles Phillips, brother, of the parish of Llandegley, 16, iv., 1716. A portion of the present building is of later date. The burial ground was presented to the Society by David Powell, senior, and David Powell, junior, of Llandegley parish, 17, vi., 1673.

Of the eight meeting houses in Wales, where Quakers worship to-day, four are in Radnorshire, and Pales is one of them.

B. J. Elsmere resided at Pales in 1887, and applied himself to the work of the ministry at Pales, Penybont, and other places. A minute was granted by the superior meetings of the Society forty years ago liberating him for the work of the ministry in Wales. At the Yearly Meeting held at Llandrindod Wells in May, 1924, it was decided to discontinue the recognition of acknowledged ministers of the Gospel.

## LLANDRINDOD WELLS.

A meeting was established at Llandrindod Wells in 1892, chiefly through the efforts of B. J. Elsmere. After the removal of Elsmere the work has been maintained successfully by H. D. Phillips, and others. The meeting house was built about four-and-twenty years ago.

In May, 1924, the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends was held at Llandrindod, and the press gave great publicity to the proceedings. Gerald K. Hibbert, M.A., delivered the Swarthmore Lecture, and selected for his subject, "The Inner Light and Modern Thought." At the meeting, devoted

to international service, Quakers from Germany, Austria, and France, advocated peace and goodwill. Henry Van Elten, a Frenchman, said, "May I say, dear Friends, you speak too much . . . . We are sick of words." It was the silence of Friends meetings that attracted his religiously-minded compatriots. The *Friend* for May, 1924, contained excellent reports of the Yearly Meeting.

#### TALCOED.

A Quaker stronghold once with burial ground. It lies between Cross Gates and Nantmel on the Rhayader Road. John Player, in his *Itinerary* mentions Talcoed, also Cwm.

#### EMIGRANTS

*With the date of their departure.*<sup>1</sup>

Edward Evans, of Nantmel, gentleman, 1683, wife and one daughter.

Jane Evans, widow, with five children, 1684.

Edward Jones, St. Harmon's parish, gentleman. Bought 250 acres in Radnor, co., which he sold to James Morgan. Uncertain whether he left Wales.

David Kinsey, of Nantmel parish, carpenter, 1683. Freeholder of 100 acres in Pa.

Ann Lewis, of Rhayader, spinster, 1698.

Hugh Lewis, of Llandeilo Graban, widower and labourer, 1699.

Edward Moore, of Llanbadarn Fawr parish, 1698. Freeholders in Chester, co.

David Powell, of Nantmel parish, wife and several children, 1697-8.

Evan Powell, of Nantmel parish, weaver, 1697-8.

John Roberts, of Nantmel parish, 1697-8.

Lumley Williams, of Radnor Town, bachelor. Freeholder near Philadelphia, 1698.

Many settled in Radnor County, Pennsylvania.

Richard Cook, 1683 ; Richard Corne, 1683 ; Stephen Evans, Llanbister, 1683 ; David James, Margaret James, sister, Glascomb, 1682 ; James James, 1690 ; Thomas Jones, Glascomb, 1683 ; Evan Lloyd, 1711 ; David Meredith, 1683 ; Hugh Meredith, Evan Morgan, Vaynor, Nantmel, 1691 ; James Morgan, 1691 ; Evan Oliver, Glascomb, 1692 ; Thomas Parry, Llanrhaidr, 1699 ; William Smith, Nantmel, 1698.

An interesting document containing facts concerning emigrants from the county in 1698 deserves publication. All those who left in that year were in the Colony in March, 1699.

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<sup>1</sup> Glenn's *Welsh Founders of Pa.*

In 1698 a party<sup>1</sup> of sixty adults and two children set sail from Carmarthen for Pennsylvania, in the ship *William Galley*, owned by Owen Thomas, mercer, Carmarthen, and captained by Samuel Haines. David Powell<sup>2</sup> and John Morris, of Radnorshire, signed the agreement on the 7 March, 1697-8, the chief conditions of which were : cost of passage for adults £5 each ; children under twelve, half price ; suckling babies free. Twenty tons of luggage free of charge. The ship, which was "riding in the river Towy," to start on her eventful journey on the 10th of May : but "in case wind and weather do not serve to hoist sails for the said voyage" on that date, the passengers were to make provisions for themselves for five days after the 10th, then the owner became responsible. The ship doctor to be paid 5/- by man with family, and 1/- by every single person. Owen Thomas and Samuel Haines sealed the document, which was signed and delivered in the presence of David Williams and Thomas Osburne :

Dd. Powell for 11 passengers ; John Morris, 6 ; Margaret Jones, 3 ; Ed. Moore, 4 ; Thos. Powell, 3½ ; Thos. Griffith, 2 ; Rees Rees, 4½ ; Ed. Nicholas, 4 ; Winifred Oliver, 5 ; Evan Powell, 5 ; Thos. Jerman, 3 ; John Powell, 2 ; James Price, 2 ; John Vaikaw, 1 ; Lymley Williams, 1 ; Ann Lewis, 1 ; Thomas Watts, 1 ; Wailer Ingram, 1 ; Benjamin Davies, 1. Total, 60.

## BRECONSHIRE.

Breconshire had a few scattered Quaker families, but the denomination did not make any headway there. Brecon was the venue of many general Quaker meetings.

## EMIGRANTS.

David Price, his wife and children, 1690.

Philip Price, husbandman, 1692. Freeholder in Upper Merion in 1703, and at Whitpain.

Walter Richard, 1694. Married daughter of Henry Lewis, of Haverford, and had one son.

It has been stated that the Dillwyn's of New Jersey, and Pennsylvania hailed from the district of Llangorse, and that the Welsh form was Deulwyn.

<sup>1</sup> "An old Charter Party," by W. F. Corbit. *Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.* Vol., I. 1877, pp. 330-2.

<sup>2</sup> David Powell, of Nantmel, and John Morris of *Karbadarn fyneth* Parish Recs.



## MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

Montgomeryshire proved a fertile soil for the seed of Truth, and many of the followers of Vavasor Powell were convinced. The county supplied ardent and valiant publishers, such as Richard Davies, Charles and Thomas Lloyd, Goodwin, and Thomas Ellis. Cromwell declared at the opening of the Little Parliament, 4 July, 1653, that "God had kindled a seed there in Wales hardly to be paralleled in the primitive times." This applied in a particular sense to the land of Powys, where Vavasor Powell and other itinerants had been eminently successful in effecting social reforms. Sabbath observance in Montgomeryshire had become a marked feature; Powell reported that "no work, play, or travelling took place there on the Sunday." When Quakers attacked Vavasor Powell, they unconsciously paid a tribute to the most successful and the most energetic of the Welsh itinerating preachers. His success, undoubtedly, accounted for the persistent opposition offered to him by the early Quakers. Powell and Fox had views in common regarding to Fifth Monarchy, and the fact that so many of Powell's members rallied to the standard of Fox proves that his ministry contained a potential Quaker principle.

## SUFFERERS.

1662. William Evans, Rice Pritchard, Lewis Pugh, Richard Owen, Harry Thomas, David Powel, and Evan Harry were committed to Montgomery Gaol, where they were hardly used, and obliged to lie on bare boards, having their water supply sometimes withheld.

William Lewis, and his wife Margaret, Edward Evans, and his wife Katherine, were, by the order of justices, taken from their homes, and for refusing the oath of allegiance, imprisoned. On the 20 Nov., Edward Evans, "an infirm man", died owing to the filth and dampness of the prison. The unwholesome confinement accelerated his death. The rest were kept prisoners for five years.

Hugh Davis, Humphrey Wilson, Charles Lloyd, Cadwaladr Edwards, David Griffith, Sarah Wilson, and Anne Lawrence were taken from their families, and the following day, for refusing the oath of allegiance, committed to close prison. Humphrey Wilson succumbed in gaol to the coldness and unhealthy conditions of the place, after about three years' imprisonment.

1664. Samuel Davis was arrested on the high road by

soldiers, and taken to a justice, who presented the oath to him, and committed him to gaol. Likewise, David Davis, Thomas Lloyd, David Powel, and Richard Moore, as they journeyed, and for refusing to swear, lay in prison for several years.

1665. On 1st June, Richard Davies was committed to Welshpool Gaol for refusing the oath of allegiance, where he remained some years.

1666. In the month of June, Owen Jones, Evan David, Griffith, and Watkin David, were taken out of their houses before some magistrates, and on refusing the oath of allegiance sent to gaol. In July an elderly woman, Elizabeth Hughes, for refusing the oath, was imprisoned with her husband. This woman was carrying clean clothes for her husband in gaol when seized.

1672. Charles Lloyd, William Lewis, Cadwaladr Edwards, Hugh David, Richard David Griffith, Margaret Lewis, Sarah Wilson, Anne Laurence, Thomas Lloyd, Richard Davis, Watkin David, Owen Jones, and Elizabeth Hughes were set at liberty from gaol.

1675. Thomas Hammond, of Montgomery parish, was imprisoned for tithes of trifling worth at the suit of Lord Herbert, of Cherbury, and Roger Jones, priest of Berriew and Montgomery. The prosecution took place in the court of the Bishop of Hereford. Hammond was sentenced under statute 27, Henry VIII. He appealed for liberty, but in vain. Died 28 Jan. and left a wife and four children. He was not allowed to visit his family once during his confinement.

1677. Two priests, Hugh Wilson, of Trefeglwys, and Isaac Lloyd, of Llanidloes, gave information of a meeting at the house of John Jarman, Llanidloes. The Mayor and constables proceeded thither, and committed seven from the meeting to gaol, and fined others.

For being present at a meeting in the house of John Jarman, Llanidloes, the following were fined, whose goods were seized : —John Potts, one cow and six young beasts, to the value of £12 10s. od. ; Griffith Jarman, five young beasts, £7 10s. od. ; John Roberts, a cow, £3 0s. od. ; John Jarman, a cow, £2 10s. od. ; David Owen, a horse, £2 0s. od. Total £27 10s. od.

1674. David Maurice, of Pen-y-bont, Denbighshire, a justice of Montgomeryshire, with fourteen or fifteen persons, most of whom were armed, came to Cloddiau Cochion, within the Corporation of Welshpool, where a few Friends were gathered in silence. Maurice desired them to depart, but Thomas Lloyd asked him to stay a while, so he and his company sat down. Thomas Lloyd spoke to them on the

nature of true religion and worship. Thomas Lloyd was fined £20 for preaching, and the others for being present at the meeting. Warrants for distress were issued, some of which were executed by his clerk and other servants. From Thomas Lloyd were taken four cows and a mare (£16). From Thomas Lewis, at whose house the meeting was held, six cows, two oxen, and two heifers. Without warrant at all the clerk took a horse from Charles Lloyd, and Thomas Lewis. The officers of Meifod parish, John Jones, Golynog, an attorney, and constable, seized by warrant from David Maurice ten young beasts, the property of Charles Lloyd, of Dolobrán,<sup>1</sup> David Jones, of Broniarth, had a brass pan taken from him for attending the meeting, and three cows and an ox, for the pretended poverty of other Quakers who could not pay their fines. The busy and dishonest informer, David Maurice, was drowned by crossing a brook, called Llynlleth. His horse threw him—it was supposed—and his body was carried down into the river Tanat.<sup>2</sup>

1667. John Burnyeat preaching at Machynlleth on 2nd of December was reported by Oliver Maurice,<sup>3</sup> an informer. Constables entered the meeting, and after causing some disturbance went out again and seized all the horses belonging to the Friends they could find. These were restored when their warrant was demanded. The informer the following day took William Pugh, of Mathafarn, a justice with him, and meeting John Burnyeat and Thomas Ellis made them go back to an alehouse, where the informer swore, and the justice's bailiff, that both had preached at the meeting. Forthwith a warrant was granted, and the preachers were deprived of their horses, saddles, and bridles, and compelled to travel on foot. Burnyeat's horse, valued at £8, died soon, and Ellis's horse and trappings, £14, they kept.

Charles Lloyd, of Dolobrán, for refusing to pay tithes, lost goods worth £4 4s. od.

## MEETINGS.

In Montgomeryshire there were four meeting houses with buial grounds<sup>4</sup>—Llanwddyn, Dolobrán, Llangurig, and Es-gairgoch. Meetings were held at Llanidloes, Aberhavesp

<sup>1</sup> Maurice the informer was wrong in his charge against Charles Lloyd preaching at Cloddiau Cochion 14 Jan., 1674-5, for he was not present. *Auto. of Richard Davies*, ed. 1794, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> Oliver Maurice, of Drain Llwydion, in Merionethshire. *Auto. R. Davies*, 1794 ed., p. 129.

<sup>4</sup> Other burial grounds, beside these four, were Cloddiau Cochion and Dolcaradog. *Montg. Collections*, xxv., 353.

(William Soley), Newtown (at the barn of Thomas Jones), Montgomery (William Winter), Queen's Head, Oswestry (Edward Reece, 1707); Llanwnnog, Dolebachog, Llangynog (Margaret Rowlands), Winsbury (David Prinald), Coed Cowrid (Thomas Oliver), Cloddiau Cochion (Richard Davies), Llanwddyn (Margaret Thomas), Carno, Llandrinio, Cemmaes, Darowen, Llanwrin, Hirnant, and other places. The number of meetings held throughout the county proves how widely Quakerism had spread.

#### LLANWDDYN.

The meeting continued here till 1739. At one time about a dozen Quaker families worshipped at Llanwddyn. Reference is made to Shone Thomas Morris, the Quaker of this place, in *Byegones*,<sup>1</sup> a notable man. Margaret Thomas was also a strong character. Hugh Roberts visited Llanwddyn in 1698, when home from Pennsylvania.

The Liverpool Corporation Waterworks at Llanwddyn has absorbed the old village.

#### DOLOBRAN.

When Charles Lloyd, Dolobrân, became Quaker, and allowed meetings at the Hall, most of the families at Meifod followed him. Randolph Davies, the rector of Meifod, complained that most of his flock had turned Quaker. If tradition be true, his wife's sister joined the Quakers. She lived at Pentre Gof, and on Sunday morning used to meet her sister, the Rector's wife, at Pentre Barog, where their paths crossed at right angles: one going to Coed Cowrid, and the other to Meifod Church. "If you had grace, my dear sister," said the Rector's wife, "you would come with me." The other sister answered, "If *thou* hadst grace *thou* wouldst come with me." The Rector was bitterly opposed to the new sect, as well as to the other branches of Nonconformity. In 1649, he was removed from his living, and a man named Stephen Lewis placed in his office. During his enforced silence he seemed to have been busy preparing arguments against Nonconformists, especially Quakers. In 1675 he published a book in Welsh, with a long title<sup>2</sup> and a dedication

<sup>1</sup> *Byegones*, 1896, p., 328.

<sup>2</sup> "A Tryall of the Spirits, or a Discovery of False Prophets, and a caveat to beware of them; or a short treatise on 1 John, iv., 1, wherein is discovered by the light of God's word, expounded by antiquity, that several doctrines of the Papists, Presbyterians, Independents, and Quakers, are disagreeable to the Holy Scripture, and carefully to be avoided by every man that loves the salvation of his soul—*Pro ecclesia clamitant et contra ecclesiam dimicant*." Pages 237; 12<sup>mo</sup>; dedication 5 pp.; two title pages, one English, the other Welsh. *Vide Gwallter Mechain Works*, Vol. III., p. 103.



to Robert Vaughan, of Llwydiarth. According to one Welsh bibliographer, Davies published a book in 1660<sup>1</sup> against the Quaker doctrine.

The iron forge at Mathrafal, owned by the master of Dolobrán, gave work to many Friends, who became active workers at the Dolobrán meeting.

Quakers were frequently tempted by irritating observations made to ruffle their feelings. Thus we read of one in the neighbourhood of Meifod who would annoy a Friend engaged in ploughing: "God be your help," said the passer-by. "Why didst thou take the name of God in vain?" asked the Friend, "Why didst thou not say *very good work*, or make some other observation if thou must needs speak at all?" The rustic passed on, but on his return later he noticed that the Friend's wooden-plough had been broken through contact with a big hidden stone. Laughing at the unfortunate ploughman he said, "*Very good work.*" We quote this story because it shews what the early Quakers had to suffer from their neighbours. The influence of Quakers was long felt in this district, for the Welsh people in daily conversation were wont to say, "As honest as a Quaker," and "as truthful as a Quaker."

Dolobrán Meeting House was built in 1701, and the first Monthly Meeting in the new building was held 29th, ix. month, in the same year. The building was small, without any pretence to beauty or style, with a gallery. The material was brick. Attached to it was a house with wooden partitions which could be opened, so that the people in the house could join those in the chapel at worship. Its situation was beautiful, between Dolobrán and Coed Cowrid. Near the meeting house was a burial ground, measuring thirty yards by sixteen, and surrounded by a strong stone wall, now an orchard.

In 1699, the Monthly Meeting decided to collect subscriptions for the new edifice. Charles Lloyd gave £15, Anne Lloyd £5, Richard Davies and Jacob Endon £5, William Reginald £1 10s. od., Joseph Davies, the same, Amos Davies £1, Thomas Oliver £2 10s. od., John Richards £1 10s. od., John Oliver, the same, Richard Lewis 5/-. Total £31 15s. od.

Richard Davies, Welshpool, was the chief elder of the Dolobrán Monthly Meeting, and after his death, Charles Lloyd, and after him, John Goodwin, of Esgairgoch.

The late T. G. Jones (Cyffin) published extracts<sup>2</sup> from the minute book of the Dolobrán Monthly Meeting, 1690—1713, which he borrowed from Thomas Lloyd, of the Priory, Warwick. It begins with the date 30, vii., 1690, but the entries

<sup>1</sup> *Vide Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry*, by W. Rowlands, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> *Montgomeryshire Collections*, Vol. XI., p. 87.

for 1690-91-92 are gone. At the Monthly Meeting, Dolobrán, 26, iii., 1693, the following representatives were present:—Charles Lloyd, Richard Davies, Charles Lloyd, junior; Robert Griffiths, Jonathan Roberts, Thomas Óliver, Coed Cowrid; Joseph Davies, Richard Lewis, Evan Davies, Amos Davies.

The following entries have a human touch. Date, 1694. Hugh David, one of the first converts from the Independents, was warned to take care of himself, and walk orderly as becometh a professor of the Truth, and to keep himself *clean in Llanfyllin* and elsewhere. The people of that town were set on their guard not to trust him too far. This proves how careful the Quakers were of behaviour in harmony with their doctrine, lest "performance should mock profession," as Wordsworth puts it in his *Excursion*. In 1711, the intended marriage of John Kelsale to Susannah Davies was notified. John Kelsale and Owen Oliver were appointed, in 1705, to warn Friends who slept at the meetings.

Widow Rowlands, of Hirnant, was to be advised about the properest methods of husbandry, 1705. Thus religion was made to take hold of life at the small end—the end of helpfulness and duty—the end nearest to those who professed it. Quakerism helped to bring religion down from the clouds into the field of every day life. Speculation was idle, co-operation and practical assistance had much greater value than nebulous theories.

In 1747, the windows of the Dolobrán Meeting House were glazed, and R. Oliver, Coed Cowrid, was asked to make shutters, and to close the windows in the gallery.

In 1752, it was ordered that sycamore trees be sold for repairs of the meeting house, Dolobrán. Other interesting items from the minute book—In 1702, the name of John Kelsale was first brought before the Monthly Meeting as a newcomer into Wales. In 1704, it was announced that the *Epistles* of G. F. were at the Old Mill and Forge, and the *Journal* at Winsbury.

In *Howell's Almanac* for 1774, Harry Parry, of Craig-y-gath, published nineteen Welsh stanzas with reference to John Lloyd, of Dolobrán Hall. Englished, the following two stanzas<sup>1</sup> reveal the bard's attitude toward Quakerism.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide Montgomeryshire Collections*, Vol. XI., p. 101.

Sion Llwyd a burwyd o'i beryg—heno  
Mae hwnnw'n gadwedig;  
A Harri bach hir ei big  
Yn llwdwn drwg colledig.

Nid â Harri Parri per—i wrando  
Ar Rowdied na Chwacer;  
Y dynion sydd dan y sêr  
Yn peidio dweud eu pader.

"John Lloyd, who has been purified, is to-night saved from his danger, while little Harry long-beaked (cheeky) is a bad lost sheep." The last stanza declares that "sweet Harry Parry will not go to hear neither a Roundhead nor Quaker, the men who, under the stars, refrain from saying their paternoster."

Portions of the oak panelling from the Dolobrán Meeting House were removed to America by some of the descendants of Thomas Lloyd. In the Powysland Library there are copies of the *Lineage of the Lloyds, Dolobran, and the Carpenter Families* (1870), and *Home and Ancestry of Thomas Lloyd, first Governor of Pennsylvania* (1875), by Charles Perrin Smith, of Trenton, New Jersey, a descendant of Thomas Lloyd.

Charles Lloyd, the third (1662—1747), resided at Dolobrán, and became an iron master.<sup>1</sup> In 1742 he removed to Birmingham, and the Yearly Meeting for Wales at Bridgnorth that year wrote: "Charles Lloyd and his wife to the Friends in Birmingham in sincere love and fellowship desiring that the Almighty may crown the evening of their days here with peace, and hereafter receive them into tue arms of His Eternal and unspeakable mercy."

Sarah, his wife, was the daughter of Sir Ambrose Crowley, sheriff of London, Knt. Their marriage was solemnized in 1693.<sup>2</sup> Their two sons, Charles Exton Lloyd, and James Lloyd, remained single. The latter sold the Dolobrán estate in 1780, and it continued out of the family till Samuel Sampson Lloyd, of Birmingham, rebought it in 1878. Both Charles and Sarah Lloyd were buried at the Friends burial ground, Birmingham.

Sampson Lloyd, the first (1664—1724), settled in Birmingham in 1698. He married in 1695, Mary, the daughter of Sir Ambrose Crowley, London, and as we have seen, his brother Charles married her sister two years before this. Persecution drove him to Birmingham from Wales. He might have gone to Pennsylvania like his uncle, but Birmingham, where his sister, Elizabeth, and John Pemberton, his brother-in-law, lived, had attractions, and afforded ample scope for his talent and energy. He began as an iron merchant at Edgbaston Street, where he and his sons prospered exceedingly. A slitting mill for making nails was built by him and his son, Sampson, near the centre of the town, which was driven by water from the river Lea.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide Industries Section* of this work.

<sup>2</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 277, 5 note. Daughter by second marriage. Her father knighted in 1704-5.

Sampson Lloyd, the second (1699—1779), joined his father's business as an iron merchant in Birmingham. In 1765, he joined John Taylor, and together they established a bank, whose symbol was a "Beehive." From this small bank has grown the world-renowned "Lloyd's Bank." The story is a fascinating romance. Based upon the right principles it has gone on increasing from year to year. The descendants of Dolobrán have thus developed into some of the most expert financiers of modern times.

Charles Lloyd, the poet (1775—1839), friend of Coleridge and Lamb, known in literature as the Quaker poet, was a descendant of Sampson Lloyd, the first.<sup>1</sup>

John Kelsale, 1683—1743, was a Londoner by birth. His father died the following year, 1684, and his mother in 1685, leaving another brother, Joseph, and himself orphans. After receiving a course of education, John Kelsale became a school-master at Dolobrán, at the age of eighteen. His diary<sup>2</sup> reveals a versatile mind, with knowledge of Greek, for one of his entries (19, vi., 1730) records, "Read Matthew and Mark in Greek." Kelsale was a faithful attendant at Quaker meetings, and his accounts of the Yearly Meetings are suggestive, for he mentions what large numbers attended some of them. In 1724, at the Yearly Meeting, Monmouth, 1500 people were present for worship. Two years later at Hereford 3000 attended a public meeting, "some of them of note." Molly Lloyd, Dolobrán, accompanied him to this Yearly Meeting, and rode on a "pillow" behind him. The Yearly Meeting at Carmarthen, 1725, was held in a large warehouse, and the Welsh had a meeting in their own language apart.

Kelsale has frequent references of visits to Hengwrt, Nannau, Caerynwch, Gwanas, Dolgyn, and other historic residences. On 16, xii., 1724, he visited Rhos, near Wrexham, and descended a coal pit. He dined at Baron Meredith, and had conversation about the author's poetry, and about learning. On 18<sup>th</sup>, 1<sup>mo</sup>, 1728, he began to keep school at the meeting house, Dolobrán. In the preceding year he records that Robert Griffith's tenement had been taken by him at £6 a year "to teach school there." Travelling ministers frequently called at Dolobrán, among those mentioned by Kelsale are Joshua Toft, Benjamin Kidd, Daniel Humphreys

<sup>1</sup> *The Lloyds of Birmingham*, by Samuel Lloyd, furnishes an excellent account of the most illustrious members of the ancient family of Dolobrán. Published in 1907 by Cornish Bros. Ltd., Birmingham.

<sup>2</sup> Diary in 3 volumes, and a volume of poems at Devonshire House Library. Extracts from his Diary appeared in *Wales* (O. M. Edwards), culled by Edward Griffiths, Dolgelley.



(America), Arthur Jones (America); John Cadwaladr, and Rowland Roberts and his wife (America), at Dolgryn.

In 1727 he refers to financial difficulties at Dolo-brân. Charles Lloyd, the grandson of the great Quaker, was insolvent, and left for Boulogne, but returned. By an Act of Parliament he was allowed to sell the Dolo-brân estate for his liabilities in all amounted to £16,000, in 1728. The diary contains valuable *data* regarding neighbouring Quakers. Thus Edward Ellis, of Bala, died in 1727, "a plain, upright man." Grace Endon, daughter of Richard Davies, died at Cloddiau Cochion, 14, 1, 1729. At the Yearly Meeting, Bala, 12, 2, 1732, John Goodman, Ellis Lewis, and Arthur Jones (Pennsylvania) conducted a fine service in Welsh.

The diarist had great affection for his old master at Dolo-brân, and for Quakerism, and was a devoted servant of the Truth. The record finishes in 1743. Kelsale removed to Cheshire, in straits, by all account, for the Quarterly Meeting of that county questioned the validity of his transfer. At the Yearly Meeting, Cowbridge, South Wales, in 1739, his case was under consideration, and a letter, exonerating him from blame, and stating that he left enough in North Wales to liquidate his debts, was sent to the Quarterly Meeting in Cheshire.

#### LLANGURIG.

Llangurig is the highest village in Wales, about 1000 feet above sea level, situated at the junction of the old coach roads from Rhayader and Llanidloes. We cannot mention Llangurig without saying that the views from the surrounding hills for beauty and extent are unsurpassed even in Wales.

Walter Cradoc reported that the inhabitants of this parish, who formerly were known for their untowardness and sorry fame, were, through the godly pains of some persecuted ministers, pointed at as the Puritans and Roundheads of Wales. Here the Quaker religion found many loyal supporters. Llangurig Meeting House became a centre for Friends living in a large area, which reached to the Wye Valley, and the borders of Cardiganshire. At the Dolo-brân Monthly Meeting, the fifth meeting of 1693, it was resolved that care be taken to have the house of John Pott recorded as a meeting house at the next Quarter Sessions. The burial ground of this place still belongs to the Society of Friends, and is about twelve yards square; dated 1708.

The Church of St. Curig<sup>1</sup> had resplendent fittings, paintings, and ornaments, but the Cromwellians despoiled it of its embellishments. Quakers flourished here, and were not so

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide* work by Col. Lloyd, Verney.

cruelly persecuted as in the towns. Vavasor Powell and Evan Roberts, Llanbadarn, had great influence at Llangurig, and it is from their followers the Quakers had most converts.

Jesse George, a descendant of Richard George, who emigrated to Pennsylvania from Llangurig,<sup>1</sup> with his wife Jane, and family, was a noble benefactor. He gave five thousand dollars toward the Friends Historical Society, Philadelphia; also a portion of land, known as George's Hill. Richard George died soon after his arrival in the State, at Chester, Pa, in 1708.

#### LLANIDLOES.

Meetings were held in the houses of Friends in the town of Llanidloes, and flourished for many decades. The Yearly Meeting for Wales<sup>2</sup> was held at the house of the Mayor of Llanidloes in 1697—Robert Evans, when William Edmundson visited the town. Thomas Story, and other notable Quakers refer in their journals to meetings held at Llanidloes. In 1800, the name appears in the list of Quaker meetings published in London. Thomas Goodwin, of Llanidloes, was a popular minister in his day. The old burial ground is about four miles out of the town, among the hills, on the road between Llanidloes and Machynlleth, near Dyliŷ.<sup>3</sup>

#### ESGAIRGOCH.

Esgairgoch continued its meeting till 1820–30. Frequent references are found in the Journals of ministers who travelled in Wales to the Goodwins of this place. The first Goodwin to adopt Quakerism was a sexton and schoolmaster. His convincement ended in his ejection from the posts which he held in the Established Church. Afterwards, he and his family emigrated to Pennsylvania. Hugh Roberts, of Pennsylvania, visited Thomas Goodwin in 1698. John Goodwin, 1681—1763, the eldest son, wondered at his parents' sufferings, and became himself a tower of strength to the Cause at Esgairgoch, for he did not leave with the rest of the family, believing that God had special work for him in Wales. He kept wife and family on a small farm worth £4 a year. Quaker visitors were always welcome. Heaven seemed to reside beneath that roof-tree. How touching the record that John Goodwin and his wife would give up their one bed, and sleep in the stable, in order to entertain a Friend travelling in the ministry of service. Angels invited invitations to such

<sup>1</sup> *Merion in the Welsh Tract* (Glenn).

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* list of Yearly Meetings.

<sup>3</sup> Last Quaker buried there in 1853, when a Friend from Tewkesbury attended. *Arch. Cambr.* III Series, Vol. IV., 201.

a home. John Gough has a pleasing picture of Esgairgoch<sup>1</sup> and Goodwin. This brave minister from the hills of Trefeglwys rendered invaluable service to the Quaker cause in Wales. His life illustrates the Bible truth, that "the people who know their God shall be strong and do exploits." His death took place at the age of eighty-two, on 7, xii., 1763. Buried at Llwyngwrl. John Goodwin was an elder of the Dolobrân Monthly Meeting for forty years, and a minister, fifty years. A descendant of his was the last to be buried at Dolobran.

Among well-known Quakers at Esgairgoch were Evan Rees, and Bembow. Evan Rees settled at Neath, in Glamorganshire, and helped to start a flourishing cause in that town. The burial ground at this place is still owned by the Society of Friends. Richard Brown, Llanidloes, who was probably the last of the Quakers in the county of Montgomery, was buried at Esgairgoch in 1850.<sup>2</sup> The burial ground resembles a wedge, and is about half an acre. Nineteen burials are recorded. Deeds dated 1711 and 1716.

#### CLODDIAU COCHION.

Richard Davies had a meeting at his house, which was continued till about 1743. Jacob Endon, who married Davies's daughter, was a faithful Quaker, but their daughter "went to the priest for a husband," and was therefore disowned by the Society. Notable travelling ministers conducted services at this house. John ap John and James Adamson had "a considerable large meeting" there in 1668. John Whitehead, a follower of John Perrot, visited Cloddiau Cochion, and had a meeting, but Richard Davies was not present at the beginning, "but came before it was concluded, and found he had sown an evil seed," and that some Friends had received it. Most of these were restored, and lived and died faithful to Truth, "except Cadwaladr Edwards, who continued in stubbornness and hardness of heart, and endeavoured to hurt such who were simple-hearted." A paper was written by Richard Davies against the vain imaginations of Edwards, and sent to him with the signatures of ten men Friends, and eight women Friends, including Charles Lloyd, and Tace Davies, whom he had attempted to influence with his corrupt principles. With sorrow we read that Cadwaladr Edwards, who gave his house for a meeting in 1662, where Charles Lloyd, Dolobrân, was convinced, died in Fleet prison, London, where he was a prisoner for debt. Thus a benefactor

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of People called Quakers*, by John Gough, Vol. IV., 541.

<sup>2</sup> *Byegones*, 1894, p. 401.

to the infant cause of Quakerism in Montgomeryshire died ignominiously, but he repented of his wicked life, and bore a noble testimony to the blessedness of the Quaker religion.

John Perrot, John Whitehouse, and Cadwaladr Edwards turned their backs upon God, and were a warning to others. Richard Davies himself was influenced by the spirit of the offender, John Perrot, in London, 1663-4. Perrot had just returned from prison in Rome with much seeming humility and lowliness of mind. A considerable company joined him in London, "where they had me among them for a little time." Disparagement of other Friends, calling them dead and formal, and praying with their hats on, characterized the friends of Perrot. In his company Richard Davies himself came to have a light esteem of George, and others near and dear to him, but the veil of darkness was rent, and he saw that self-exaltation under pretence of humility, and self-denial caused a breach of unity, love, and fellowship.

At Cloddiau Cochion, James Parkes, a former Independent, left "A Lamentation and Warning from the Lord God in the love of Christ Jesus, unto all the Professors in North Wales, especially those about Wrexham, in Denbighshire, and Welshpool, in Montgomeryshire, whom, formerly, I have known and walked with in a Fellowship and Worship, till the Lord awakened me out of sleep, and opened in me an Ear to hear His voice, which cried, Come out from among them, and be thou separate, touch no unclean thing and I will receive thee." The paper was written at Wrexham, 9, 1, 1662, and contains a valuable message unto those who rested in mere profession of faith. "Relinquish the title of church membership till you come to tread in the steps of Christ, and obey Him; for his servants ye are to whom ye obey . . . . and do you think God is pleased, or will now be served with the dry, dead, and airy service and worships. . . . . The pearl of great price is found, and many have sold and parted with all which was most dear to them, and which they most delighted in, to buy it. . . . I desire not to eat any morsel alone; but that all may come to taste, and see how good the Lord is.<sup>1</sup>"

In the burial ground of Cloddiau Cochion, Elizabeth Lloyd, the first wife of Charles Lloyd, Dolobrán, was interred. It contains also the dust of Richard Davies, and his wife, and several others who suffered for the faith. Edward Evans, who died in gaol in 1662, was buried on the hill behind the Church at Welshpool, "because we had got no burying-place<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Auto. of R. D.*, 1794 edition, pp. 66-79.

<sup>2</sup> *Auto. of R. D.*, 1794 ed., p. 60.



of our own then, but were about having one." In digging the grave of Evans the bones of an old judge were found, hence, the hill was called Judge's Hill.

Cloddiau Cochion burial ground is no longer retained by the Society of Friends.

#### GUILSFIELD AND MEIFOD.

In 1669, a conventicle was held at the house of William Lewis, a Quaker.<sup>1</sup> Meifod, at the house of Charles Lloyd, gentleman, a Quaker. The names of Thomas Lloyd, William Evans, and Cadwaladr Edwards are given as chief Quakers at Meifod for that year.

#### EMIGRANTS.

*A list of emigrants from the county to Pennsylvania, and date of departure.*<sup>2</sup>

David Davies, son of Richard Davies, Cloddiau Cochion, Welshpool, 1683.

Margaret Davies, widow, of Dolobrán, aunt of Charles Lloyd, was a first purchaser of land in Pennsylvania, but whether she left Wales is doubtful.

Richard Davies, Cloddiau Cochion, disposed of his land to settlers in Radnor County, Pa.

Thomas Edward, of Llanwddyn, 1684.

Susan Griffith, of Machynlleth, servant to John Richards, bound for eight years, 1684.

Hugh Harry, of Machynlleth. Settled in Chester County, in 1684. Freeholder in the province of Birmingham. Married and had nine children. Died before 1701.

Edward Jarman of Llangurig, married, settled near Philadelphia, 1700.

Lewis Jarman, married, Chester Co., before 1715.

Evan Jenkins, of Dolobrán district, about 1715.

Elizabeth Jones, of Blackpool, spinster, daughter of David Jones, by consent of parents, 1699.

Richard Lewis, yeoman, with his family, 1713.

Charles Lloyd, Dolobrán, resold his land to settlers. Lloyd remained in Wales.

David Lloyd, of Manavon, Attorney General and chief Justice, and other important offices, 1686.

Thomas Lloyd, Dolobrán, physician, Deputy Governor

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<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Prot. Non. in Wales*, by Dr. T. Rees, p. 175, ed. 1883.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* T. A. Glenn's *Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania*, Vol I., pp. 152—219.

of Pennsylvania. Freeholder of 2000 acres in Merion and Haverford. Married with ten children, 1682.

Mary Matthews, of Dolobran district, spinster, 1707.

Owen Morgan, of Machynlleth, labourer, married, 1684.

Evan Morris, wife and two children, 1692.

Rees Peter, Machynlleth, 1683.

Shon Thomas Morris, Llanwddyn, 1683. He acquired great wealth in Pennsylvania, returned to Wales, and paid mortgage on his property incurred before his convincement and departure. Wrote history of Quakers in Montgomeryshire, which, according to Glenn, was published. Died at Llanwddyn, bachelor.

Thomas Morris, of Mochnant Isa, yeoman, owner of 156½ acres in the Colony, 1683.

John Rhydderch, of Hirnant parish, yeoman, married. Freeholder in the Colony, 1683.

David Rhydderch, brother, of same parish, married, and had one daughter, 1688.

John Richards, of Machynlleth, with wife and two daughters, 1684.

Edward Thomas, of Llanwddyn, yeoman, with family, 1684. Freeholder of 312½ acres.

Jane Thomas, Llanwddyn, 1708.

John Thomas, brother, 1708.

Margaret Thomas, sister, 1708.

Morris Thomas, Llanwddyn, married, 1708.

William Thomas, yeoman, Machynlleth, married, with three children, 1690. Died 1726.

Mary Tudor, Machynlleth, before 1684. Married Richard Orme, 1686.

## MEIRIONETHSHIRE.

Merionethshire contributed more to the ranks of Quakerism than any other Welsh county, considering its population. The converts were chiefly from the Independents, and when Quakerism declined the Independents reasserted themselves, and had possession of the one meeting house erected in the county—Tabor. Many of the ablest and wealthiest sons of Merioneth became followers of George Fox, and emigrated to the New World, where they helped to create a liberty-loving State. Dr. Edward Jones, Dr. Griffith Owen, Thomas and Robert Owen, Hugh Roberts, Ellis Pugh, and others. The prophecy of George Fox was abundantly fulfilled as regards the number of Quakers which would come forth out

of the county. The fires of persecution burned fiercely in Merionethshire, but the sufferers emerged from the furnace as refined gold. Men of noble lineage proved their valour and loyalty to Truth.<sup>1</sup>

### SUFFERERS.

1660. In August of this year about fourteen Friends met for worship, and were assaulted by Alban Vaughan, and several rude persons, armed with swords, who threatened to take them to Carnarvon Gaol, distant about 26 miles. They were driven two miles, and were frequently struck with swords, and then allowed to go. The same company of armed men on horseback, a few days later, visited the homes of those they had previously haled out of the meeting-place, and abused. They dragged the innocent people out of their houses by force, and some out of their beds, wounding and beating several of them. Before these ferocious horsemen they were driven on foot to Bala, a distance of twenty miles. The oath of allegiance was tendered there to four of the Friends, who refused it; these were committed to the gaoler's custody, and were fettered, and thus they were to drag themselves twelve miles to prison, where they were detained with other Friends for about four months. Friends were not allowed to bring their necessities, and their Bible, ink-horns, knives, and money were taken from them. The following suffered under a cruel gaoler:—Thomas Lewis, Rice Jones, John Humphrey, William Jones, John Meredith, Joane Owen (widow), Samuel Humphry, Robert Owen, John Williams (junior), Thomas Ellis, Lewis Ap Humphry, Joane Humphry, John William, Owen Lewis, John Evan, Hugh Ap Rees, Meredith Edward, Katherine Williams, Evan Jones, Owen Humphry, Richard Jones, William ap Rees, and Henry Thomas. Among these were several men of substance, whose cattle were seized during their imprisonment, about 650 head of cattle in all. The cattle were driven to Bala and sold, and the money was distributed according to the pleasure of the prosecutors. No account whatever was given to the real owners.

1661. For refusing the oath of allegiance, Samuel Humphry, Owen Lewis, Owen Humphry, John Evan, John David, Thomas Ellis, and Robert Owen were committed. After suffering imprisonment for fifteen weeks they were brought before Quarter Sessions, and liberated upon declaring their fidelity. Again they were imprisoned, but at the Session

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Pedigrees of leading families in Glenn's *Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania*, Vols. I. and II.

discharged. Before the year ended these seven men were arrested, and handed over to the custody of the Marshal, who shut them up in "a nasty, close hole, where he had used to keep hogs." The pigs, deprived of their sty, kept such gruntings that rest was impossible. Here the prisoners remained for ten weeks, and in wet weather the rain drenched the place, so that they had to carry out the water in buckets. Another Marshal had charge of them, twelve miles farther from their homes. This officer refused them sustenance, and kept them for two days and two nights in a chamber without straw to lie on. Their patience, superior to the cruelty of the Marshal, softened him somewhat.

Samuel Humphry was taken by the Sheriff's men after about eight months, and cast into the common gaol for nine days, and was not suffered to have straw or bed-clothes. His wife was not permitted to bring him necessaries, and when his servant came with provisions he was imprisoned. Humphry protested in a letter to the magistrates against illegal treatment, and the messenger was detained. After inhuman usage for seven weeks, which he endured patiently, the authorities set him at liberty.

1674. John David, Robert David, Robert Owen, Cadwaladr Thomas, and Hugh Roberts were committed to Dolgelley Gaol on a Sheriff's process. These men were indicted some time before for not attending Church.

1675. Robert Richard, a poor labourer of Bettws parish, was committed to Dolgelley Gaol by William Salisbury, on the complaint of Owen Edward, priest, who stated that Robert Richard had been absent twelve days from the parish Church.

1676. Cadwaladr Thomas, Rowland Ellis, Lewis Robert, Hugh Robert, Evan Rice, Edward Rice, Griffith John, Gainor David, and Elizabeth Williams were committed for not attending their parish Church. On 6 August they were tried at the Assizes, Bala, before Kenrick Eyton, and Thomas Walcott, judges. On refusing the oath of allegiance and supremacy the judges declared: "In case they refused the oaths the second time they should be proceeded against as traitors, the men to be hanged and quartered, and the women to be burned." On 1 September, the oaths were again tendered to them, which they rejected, but declared solemnly their allegiance to the King, and abhorrence of Popery.

This resulted in imprisonment as felons or traitors, and during a severe frost a fire was denied them. Over-awed by the threats of a sottish priest, Maurice Jones, the gaoler feared to favour the prisoners lest the priest should report



him to the judges. Edward Rice, who was over sixty years of age, succumbed to the severe cold, 17 December.

Griffith Roberts and Hugh Rice were sent to gaol on a writ *De Ex. Capiendo* by Maurice Jones, priest, Dolgelley. Hugh Rice had taken charge of the children of a deceased Friend, and was sued by the priest for a *mortuary*, and excommunicated.

1662. Owen and Samuel Humphry, for a small demand of tithe, were prosecuted in the Sheriff's Court, and an execution was issued against them whereby some of their cattle were seized.

1670. Cadwaladr Thomas, near Bala, for meetings held at his house, was distrained of cattle worth £55. His landlord ejected him from his farm because he allowed meetings at his place, and was a Quaker.

John Ap Thomas, who had never been at more than two meetings, was fined £15, and they took from him a yoke of oxen and a horse to the value of £11 for the informer.

Edward Price lost cattle worth £8.

1670. Elinor Ellis, a poor woman, partly supported by Quakers, for attending meetings was deprived of her bed-clothes, apron, knitting-work, and some books.

1673. Cadwaladr Thomas for tithes value 3/-, was by distress deprived of goods worth £1 10s. od.; and Hugh Griffith for 4/- demanded, lost goods worth £1.

1675. For attending meeting at Bala, two yoke of oxen, five kine, a mare, and a saddle, valued £30, were taken from John David, and goods worth 15/- from Edward Price.

During 1687—1690. Humphry Owen, of Llanglywin, lost goods for tithe, £2 1s. 6d.; Lewis Owen, of Dolgelley, £1 18s. od.; Rowland Ellis, Dolgelley, £1 10s. od.; Rowland Owen, £3 7s. od.; Maurice Humphry and Ellis Roberts, 10/-.

Other sufferers from distresses for tithes, etc., were—Edward Griffith, Evan Rees, Maurice Starfield, Owen Thomas, Evan John, of Llanichfan, Rees John Thomas, Lewis Harry, Thomas Davis, Leak Richards, David Evan, Henry Lewis, and Littler Thomas.

## PERSECUTORS.

Judge Walcott,<sup>1</sup> who, as counsellor, appeared against George Fox when he was taken from Worcester Gaol to London to be tried in 1674, was bitter against Friends, and would have revived the Statute passed against the Lollards

<sup>1</sup> *Autobiog. of Richard Davies*, 1794 edition, pp. 127—128.

in 1399, *De Heretico Comburendo*,<sup>1</sup> in the reign of Henry IV., and not Queen Mary, as Richard Davies states in his *Autobiography*. Walcott was judge of the counties of Merionethshire, Carnarvonshire, and Anglesea. In 1677, he started his circuit at Bala, and tendered the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy to the Quakers, rather than proceed against them by *praemunire*. He declared that a refusal of the oaths was high treason, and would proceed against them on that statute at the next Assizes. Judge Walcott threatened the men with hanging, and the women with burning. Thomas Lloyd was appointed to see Counsellor Corbet in London about the matter. Both waited upon members of Parliament, and the cruel Act was repealed. Walcott was reprimanded in London, and Friends in Merionethshire "had peace and quietness for a considerable time afterwards." Davies calls Walcott a wicked, hard-hearted man, who intended much mischief to Friends had the Lord not prevented him. A fierce persecutor was removed when death carried him away after a few years.

## MEETINGS.

### DOLGELLEY.

Quakerism flourished in the district of Dolgelley despite the emigration of hundreds of Friends. At the beginning of the 19th century they were still numerous. Meetings were held at Dolgyn, Tyddynygarreg (distant about two miles), Dewisbren, and Tynyclawdd. The families of Tyddynllwyn, Carregygath, Pantycri, Dolwen, Dolgoed, Tynypwll, Bwlch-coch, Rhiwspardyn, Tycyfarfod were also faithful Quakers. The family of Tycyfarfod were of the same stock as Edmund Prys, the Archdeacon of Merioneth, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. To these places may be added Llwyngwrl (Llwyn-du), Dolserau, and Hendre. Tradition hath it that when the collector of church rates called upon Friends in this locality he was pointed to a sum of money set apart by the Passive Resisters. "The sum demanded, and more is there. Do with it according to *thy* conscience." It was not the amount that mattered, but the principle. Owen Lewis, Tyddynygarreg, objected to 2d. tithe on a cheese, for which he was excommunicated by the priest. The father of the late Rev. Evan Lewis, Cilgwyn, Cardiganshire, was a Quaker minister, and the son wrote an interesting account of Quaker meetings, near Dolgelley.<sup>2</sup> He remembered Quakers sitting

<sup>1</sup> Under this terrible statute many Christian witnesses sealed their testimony with death during two centuries and more.

<sup>2</sup> *Beirniad*, Llanelli 1863; Vol. IV., p. 258. "Dolgellau, Ellis Pugh, y Crynwyr a rhai o'n syniadau."

in meditation for an hour and a half, or two hours, without uttering a word. Sometimes one engaged in prayer, when all would remove their hats and kneel together. When the public prayer was ended they would shake hands and part. Evan Lewis learnt his horn-book at the Quaker chapel, now called Tabor.

TYDDYN-Y-GARREG.

Tyddynygarreg was a popular meeting place. The services were held in the parlour, a panelled room, in the style of early seventeenth century. The surroundings of this distinguished centre of Quakerism are picturesque. Here George Fox<sup>1</sup> in 1657 broke forth in prophecy, saying unto his companion, John ap John: "The Lord hath many people in this district." The estate belonged to the kindred of Baron Owen, Sheriff, who was killed in 1555 by the Red men of Mawddwy. Dr. John Owen, the Puritan Divine, and Hugh Owen, of Bronyclydwr, were of the same family, descendants of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, Prince of Powys. Lewis Owen<sup>2</sup> Tyddynygarreg, was an able man, who lived in the first half of the seventeenth century, and his son, Owen Lewis, was the first Quaker in the family. He was a zealous defender of Quakerism, and planted a meeting at his house. About 1662, Richard Davies, Welshpool, visited Tyddynygarreg, "Soon after I went to the house of Owen Lewis,<sup>3</sup> at Tyddynygarreg, near Dolgelley, in Merionethshire, a man that had been in commission of the Peace in Oliver's days, and was newly come from prison from Bala, who received me kindly (he was first convinced by Thomas Briggs)." This Thomas Briggs was convinced by George Fox, when in prison. Owen Lewis was subjected to extortionate fines and violent persecution,<sup>4</sup> together with other Friends in the old parish of Gwanas. When meetings were banned in one house they met in another. The owner of Tyddynygarreg furnished in a letter, 25, iv., 1681, the names of those outlawed for their Quakerism—Elizabeth Williams (in great danger); William Price, of Llandderfel; Littler Thomas, of Llandderfel; John Davies, of Llandderfel; Lodwig ap Robert, Llandderfel; Thomas ap Edward, of Llanfair; Thomas William, of Llanfair; Elizabeth Thomas, of Llanfair; widow of Robert John Evan; Griffith John, of Gwerddol, and Elizabeth, his wife; Hugh Griffith, and Mary, his wife, of Gwerddol; and Morris Humphry Morgan.

<sup>1</sup> Fox's *Journal*, Vol. I., 426.

<sup>2</sup> A Pastoral Poem by Lewis Owen appeared in *Blodeugerdd Cymru*, p. 284.

<sup>3</sup> *Autobiog. of R. Davies*, p. 59, 1794 edition.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* sufferers for 1660 and 1661.

Friends from Pennsylvania visited Tyddynygarreg in 1753, when Lewis Owen, the son of the first Quaker, was the owner. Frequent peregrinations have been made to the place by Americans, descendants of the early Welsh emigrants.

A travelling minister of New York State, Henry Hull, visited the district of Dolgelley, in October, 1810, and wrote a brief record of the meetings. He was at Tyddynygarreg, then occupied by Lowry Jones, and was shewn a house among the trees, where Dorothy Owen, a Quaker minister, lived. At Llwyngwrl he visited the house of Henry Owen. Owen had just buried his wife, the daughter of Llwyndu. He mentions that at Llwyndu a meeting had been kept since the days of Oliver Cromwell, and that the occupant had always been an Owen. In 1810, three Quakers only remained, one of whom did not understand English. Many outsiders came to hear a Quaker preacher, but generally only one man attended the Meeting, and he was not a member. Hull attended Tyddynygarreg on First Day, and then at five o'clock was at Machynlleth. The following day, at Llanidloes, he had a meeting in the upper room of a Temperance Hotel. He attended a Quarterly Meeting in Breconshire, but states that no Quakers resided in that county.

The meeting house was built chiefly through the efforts of Dorothy Owen, called in Welsh "*Dorti*," of Upper Dewisbren, on the land of Ystent, which formed part of the Tyddynygarreg Estate. The building was completed in 1792, a Quaker from Shrewsbury superintended the work, both he and his wife stayed with Dorothy Owen, the minister, for the space of six months. The meeting house was opened free of debt, and was retained by the Friends for 55 years. Dorothy Owen began to bear public testimony unto the Truth at the age of twenty-three. She travelled on foot over the Welsh mountains to meetings, and walked to the Yearly Meeting in London and back. Rebecca Jones, the American Friend, visited Tyddynygarreg, and was entertained by Dorothy Owen. In a letter to Rebecca Jones, written in 1789, after the return of the visitor, she said, "My mother's name was Lowry. She was the daughter of Evan Ellis. His place of abode was Cefngwyn. She was of the family of Gwanas. One of the sons of her grandfather went to your parts (America). My father, Rowland Owen, was of the Tyddynygarreg family." Dorothy Owen lived a consecrated life, and turned many to righteousness. She died at the age of forty-two, and was buried at Tyddynygarreg, 17, vii., 1793. The heiress of Tyddynygarreg married a Friend from a distance, and thus the chapter of Quakerism



at this historic old house closed. Three old women lived in the neighbourhood in the first half of last century, but the last of these Friends died in 1850. The land was possessed after this by the Welsh Independents, who began to preach at the Quaker meeting house, by consent, in 1847. In December, 1854, the property was sold to them, which consisted of a good chapel, houses, gardens, and graveyard. The chapel received the name of Tabor. The sum paid was £80.

Owen Lewis, Tyddynygarreg, gave a plot of ground for a burial place soon after his conviction. On 2 Dec., 1756, this graveyard was transferred to Abraham Darby, of Coalbrookdale, as trustee for the Society of Friends.<sup>1</sup>

#### LLWYNGWRIL.

Llwyngwrl had a meeting at Llwyndu for over two centuries. "Owen Humphry, of Llwyngwrl, near the sea-side in the said county, who was a justice of the peace in Oliver's days, and his father, his brothers, Samuel and John Humphry," received Richard Davies and his testimony in the year 1662. To use the words of Davies himself: "These with many more there received the Truth in the love of it, and continued faithful serviceable men in their country, kept meetings in their houses, and many were gathered to the Lord among the rocks and mountains in those parts" (p. 59, ed. 1794).

Owen Humphrey, of Llwyndu, gave a piece of land, called "Bryn Tallwyn," for a burial ground, about 1660. It is situated on the north-eastern side of Llwyngwrl village, between the railway and the high road. Since the days of Oliver Cromwell it has served as the resting place of Quakers in the lower portion of Merionethshire. The burial ground was transferred the same time as that of Tyddynygarreg (2 Dec., 1756) to Abraham Darby, of Coalbrookdale, as trustee for the Friends' Society. In 1876, Wesleyans were allowed to bury their dead in a portion of this ancient graveyard.<sup>2</sup>

Dolgelley supplied Pennsylvania with some of its noblest founders—Griffith Owen, Robert Owen, Rowland Ellis, Ellis Pugh.

Richard Davies records that about 1675 "there was a severe persecution by informers in Merionethshire, especially at Penllyn, near Bala,<sup>3</sup> in which time our meetings did increase there, and many people came to them." Charles

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<sup>1</sup> *Byegones*, 1910, p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> *Byegones*, 1910, p. 276.

<sup>3</sup> p. 115.

Lloyd, Dolobrán, accompanied Richard Davies, and they had a meeting on the First Day at Wernfawr, the home of Cadwaladr Thomas. The house could not contain the people. Two informers attended and stayed to the end. While Davies was offering the concluding prayer in Welsh the two informers knelt, and one of them, Robert Evans, trembled. At the close this man produced a warrant, and could say nothing but "warrant" four times over.<sup>1</sup> When Charles Lloyd and his companion discovered that the warrant had been granted by Price, of Rhiwlas, and Colonel Salisbury, of Rug, they visited them at their homes. This Salisbury was an old schoolfellow of Lloyd, and a relative. Both pleaded for their suffering friends at Penllyn. Price could not be seen.

Dolserau, the home of Robert Owen, and Jane, his wife, became a centre of Quaker activity. The convincement of Robert Owen took place in 1660. Richard Davies visited this place in 1662. "From thence (Tyddynygarreg) I went to Robert Owen's, of Dolycere, near Dolgelley, who had also been a justice of peace, and a commander in Oliver's time. He received me and my testimony." (*Autobiog. R. Davies*, p. 59, 1774 edition). Because he had a meeting at Dolserau, Robert Owen was imprisoned at Dolgelley for five and a half years. His home was only a mile and a half away, but he was not permitted to visit it. In the prison, on the banks of the Arran, many worthy persons languished during those years of bitter persecution. The wife of Robert Owen was threatened with imprisonment for harbouring and attending meetings. Friends met in secret at Tyddynygarreg, and Bwlchcoch, and the dales and woods of the districts of Dregerrig and Dewisbren.

Robert Owen, in the later years of the Protectorate had acted as Governor of Beaumaris. In the Council of the Marches at Ludlow, his father, Robert Owen, was regarded as one of the ablest barristers-at-law. Morgan Llwyd counted Robert Owen, the Quaker, a friend; and two of the letters which the mystic addressed to him are preserved. Owen and his family emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1690, and his death took place in 1697. His wife died a few days later. Both were buried at Merion, Pa.

#### PENLLYN, NEAR BALA.

Richard Davies, Welshpool, settled a meeting here about 1662. "Some friends and tender professors there received me kindly, and there I settled a meeting among them in the power of God."<sup>2</sup> From the Penllyn Meeting came several

<sup>1</sup> That night they went to John Thomas's of Llaithgwm, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> *Autobiog. of R. D.*, p. 59, ed. 1794.

able Friends, who served the cause, first in Wales, and afterward in Pennsylvania. Hugh Roberts was a native of Penllyn. He visited England and Wales in 1697. The references to his birth-place are tender, and the meetings he had there were memorable—Ciltalgarth, and Llwynybranes. Penllyn was made to feel the most cruel sufferings up to the year 1677, then it became quieter, for Judge Walcott was defeated in his wicked intention of putting into motion the writ *De Heretico Comburendo*. Many Friends of noble descent emigrated to Pennsylvania from the Penllyn Meeting. Edward Foulke, 1651—1714, a descendant of the lords of Penllyn, left Coedyfoel Mansion and his family, for America, 3, iv., 1698. They sailed in the “Robert and Elizabeth,” and were kept in Ireland for a month. The passage from Ireland took eleven weeks, and was tempestuous. Forty-five passengers died on board. Philadelphia was reached on 17, vii., 1698. Foulke settled in the territory of Gwynedd, where he bought 700 acres of land, and some of his children acquired great riches and fame for public service in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. He wrote his pedigree in Welsh, which was kept at the Gwynedd Meeting House. This custom of preserving the family pedigree was observed by nearly all the Welsh settlers of ancient stock. Many took their pedigrees with them to the New Country, which served a noble purpose, by reminding the descendants whence they had sprung. They could not depart from the traditions of their ancestors, who, in their day, and according to their light, had rendered great service in Wales. Macaulay observed truly: “A people who takes no pride in the achievements of remote ancestors will never achieve anything worthy to be remembered by remote descendants.” Men like Foulke did much to win the confidence of the native Indians, for they would not allow rum to play any part in their transactions with those people.<sup>1</sup>

John ap Thomas (d. 1683), of Llaithgwm, Penllyn, was a landed proprietor. He came of the family of Marchweithian, one of the fifteen royal tribes of Wales. His convincement took place in 1672, according to his neighbour, Hugh Roberts, and his movements were carefully watched by the persecutors. When he had attended two meetings they brought him before the authorities, and he was fined £15. Beside this the informer was to receive two heifers and a horse, worth £11, for his nefarious part in the business. This mean and despicable method of obtaining witnesses was one of the saddest features of Quaker persecution. Disregarding all fines, John

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Geninen* I., p. 309, article by Dr. H. E. Thomas, of Pittsburgh.

ap Thomas went on preaching the Gospel, which had brought him peace and light. In a brief space of time nine warrants were issued to seize his person. Owing to his zeal he suffered more than any of his neighbours, for he could not help witnessing unto the Truth. Loss of stock and imprisonment affected his health. He had a wife and eight children, nevertheless, he travelled far, preaching the Gospel with power and conviction. In 1681, he sent a letter to his wife, dated 28, 3<sup>mo</sup>, from London, wherein he mentioned the arrival of Thomas Ellis, and that they both intended going forth together on the second day; also that many in the city were turning unto the Lord. The brief epistle concluded with these words: "No more, except my dear love to thee while I am, John ap Thomas."

It was during this visit to London, in all probability, that he and his friend, Edward Jones, agreed with William Penn for 5000 acres in Pennsylvania. Edward Jones was sent over to take possession, and his report to John ap Thomas by letter was descriptive and useful for emigrants. The health of Thomas gave way, and death prevented him from settling in the new country. He died on the 3, iii., 1683, and was buried two days later at the Friends' burial ground, Hafodfadog.

In about four months after the burial of John ap Thomas, Katherine, his widow, and the children, left Chester on board the "*Morning Star*," with Captain Thomas Hayes in command. The company from Dolgelley numbered twenty. Rough weather made the voyage perilous and unpleasant. Thomas, the son, wrote: "Our dear sister, Sydney, died to-day, 29, 7<sup>mo</sup>, 1683. Mary, our dear sister, departed from this world on 18<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>mo</sup>, 1683, at sea." After a voyage of three months they reached their new home, and called it "*Gelli Y Cochiaid*" (The Grove of the Red Partridges), for had they not been hunted as partridges. Katherine ap Thomas died in 1697, after being in Pennsylvania fourteen years. Her son Evan died a month afterwards. Both were buried at Merion. Katherine, her daughter, married, also her sons, Robert, Cadwaladr, and Thomas, who had large families. Like her husband she came of a noble stock, and was related to the Yales,<sup>1</sup> of Plas Yale, and the Wynne's of Foelas. Her house, which was large, offered welcome to all Friends. Before Merion Meeting House was erected marriages took place there. Thomas Jones, the eldest son, was the first clerk of the Merion Meeting. He wrote in the old family Bible, which is still preserved in Pennsylvania, "My dear father,

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<sup>1</sup> Yale is popular in America, for it is the name of a great seat of learning, and Linus Yale's lock is known throughout the world.



John ap Thomas, Llaithgwm, Penllyn, Merioneth, North Wales, departed from this world 3<sup>rd</sup> of 3<sup>mo</sup>, 1683, that is, the fifth day of the week, and was buried in the Friends' burial ground at Hafodfadog, on the 5th day of the month."

Dr. Levick, Philadelphia, a descendant of John ap Thomas, Llaithgwm, received from Dr. Wm. Kent Gilbert the original deed of John ap Thomas, Edward Jones & Company *versus* William Penn, with the signature of Penn. It is an interesting document inasmuch as it contains the names of the Welshmen who formed the company, and the number of acres purchased, and the price paid.<sup>1</sup>

	Purchase Price.			Acres	Quit Rent.		
	£	s	d		s	d	
John ap Thomas	..	25	0 0	..	1250	..	12 6
Hugh Roberts	..	12	10 0	..	625	..	6 3
Edward Jones	..	6	5 0	..	312½	..	3 1½
Robert David	..	6	5 0	..	312½	..	3 1½
Evan Rees	..	6	5 0	..	312½	..	3 1½
John Edd	..	6	5 0	..	312½	..	3 1½
Edd Owen	..	6	5 0	..	312½	..	3 1½
Willm. Edd	..	3	2 6	..	156¼	..	1 6½
Edd Rees	..	3	2 6	..	156¼	..	1 6½
Willm Jones	..	3	2 6	..	156¼	..	1 6½
Tho Rich	..	3	2 6	..	156¼	..	1 6½
Rees John W	..	3	2 6	..	156¼	..	1 6½
Tho Lloyd	..	3	2 6	..	156¼	..	1 6½
Cadd Morgan	..	3	3 6	..	156½	..	1 6½
John Watkin	..	3	2 6	..	156¼	..	1 6½
Hugh John	..	3	2 6	..	156¼	..	1 6½
Gainor Robt.	..	3	2 6	..	156¼	..	1 6½
	£100	0 0	..	5000	..	£2	10 0

Edward Jones, Merion,<sup>2</sup> sent to his friend, John ap Thomas, Llaithgwm, a letter from the New World, in which he describes briefly the county, and mentions things most needed. Edward Jones arrived about the end of 1682. About forty Quakers from the neighbourhood of Dolgelley sailed with him from Liverpool in the ship *Lyon* captained by John Compton. "Let no Friends say they are either too old or too young for the Lord is sufficient to preserve both to the uttermost. Rare timber and plenty of water. Swedish people there generally. The Indians brought venison to the door, which they sold at sixpence a quarter. The land was good and rich, producing twenty, thirty, and forty fold. Abundance of stores at the Falls of Skool Kill, but mill-stones must be brought over, and the irons which belong to

<sup>1</sup> *Y Geninen*, Vol. IX., 1891, p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> *Early Hist. of Merion, and an old Welsh Pedigree*, by James J. Levick, M. D., Reprint from *Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, Vol. IV., 1880.

them for smiths charged heavily. Salt was scarce, and therefore some must be brought over."

Edward Jones lived in Merion for over 52 years. His hospitality was a remarkable feature, and being one of the first settlers he was able to assist many newcomers. His wife, Mary, was the daughter of Thomas Wynne. She was a mother to many Friends. Her death occurred in the seventh month of 1726. Edward Jones died at the age of 92, and was buried at Merion 26, xii., 1737. He was a lover of good virtuous people, and was beloved of them. A concourse of many hundreds attended his funeral.

Their daughter, Martha Jones, married John Cadwaladr, who was transferred to Pennsylvania from Pembroke, South Wales, where he received his training. In 1705, Cadwaladr was elected Freeman of the city of Philadelphia, and in 1729, became member of the Provincial Assembly. Died in 1733.

Jonathan Jones, the son of Edward Jones, married Gainor, the daughter of Robert Owen, Dolserau, and was over ninety years of age at the time of his death. Remarkable instances of longevity occurred in the family of Edward Jones. Edward Jones 92, Jonathan Jones 90, his son, James Jones, 92, and his son, Samuel W. Jones, of Philadelphia, 92, on the 7, xi., 1873. "With long life will I satisfy thee," comes to our mind as we read such a unique record. The family name still flourishes in Pennsylvania, and the old heritage is retained.

Hugh Roberts (d. 1702), of Penllyn Meeting, was a native of Llanfawr parish. His transfer bore date of 2, v., 1683, which testified that he had owned Truth for seventeen years, and that both he and his wife were blameless. Like his companions at Penllyn he was subjected to severe sufferings. In Pennsylvania Hugh Roberts became a prominent citizen and active minister of the Gospel. Before the Merion Meeting House was built in 1695 the fraternity met for worship at his residence. Marriages were also solemnized at his place, or at the house of Catherine, the widow of John ap Thomas, both houses being spacious. After 1695 the ceremony could be performed at the Merion Meeting House. Hugh Roberts was an enthusiastic Quaker. He visited the old country twice, and during one of these visits he met William Penn, at Bristol. Part of his estate is included in the Public Park of Fairmount, Pa. Died 18, vi., 1702, and was buried at Merion. We append the substance of his Journal for it helps to illustrate the history of Quakers in Wales towards the close of the seventeenth century.

Hugh Roberts, Penllyn, set out in 1697 from Pennsylvania

to visit Friends in England and Wales.<sup>1</sup> Roberts left Penllyn for America in 1682, and had been away, therefore, for fifteen years. Landing at Plymouth in April, 1698. He entered Wales through Monmouthshire, and proceeded to Pontymoil, where he had a great meeting. Thence he went to Pant, and the Quarterly Meeting at John Meiricks, where he records an "open meeting" and "good service." At Castletown there was much "tenderness and brokenness." Many of the world's people attended, and some Presbyterians, of whom one was convinced. Thence he journeyed to a place within a mile of Cardiff, and then to Treferyg ("Treferig" he writes) "where John Bevan liveth, and glad we were to meet one another." Several good meetings were held here. At Swansea the meeting was hard for those who professed the Truth had not really possessed it.

In Pembrokeshire he had precious services—Redstone, Haverfordwest, and Naish, and again at Redstone, at the house of James Lewis. At Laugharne, few Friends, if any, but many outsiders; and at Carmarthen, a number of the world's people were present: "a good meeting."

He visited Owen Bowen and James Preece, and held a meeting at Cilycwm, and went back again. At Hwgfaf (?), the meeting was good and sweet, and John Bevan, who accompanied him thus far of his own accord, returned home. He proceeded to Llanole, in Radnorshire, and then on to Roger Hughes, where the service was "open and good." At Llanthdu (?), Roberts met many Friends, and abundance of world's people. Thence to Edward Jones, where the meeting was small; and so to David Powell's, where the meeting was large. Esgairgoch was the next place visited, where at Thomas Goodwin's he had a blessed meeting. Machynlleth, at first, was inhospitable and rude, "especially the young men," but they improved.

From Machynlleth he travelled to Aberystwyth, where a great meeting was, mostly composed of world's people. Llwyndu, Merionethshire, was his next halt, whence, after a good meeting, he went on to Lewis Owen, near Dolgelley. There he had a tender service "for the comfort and edification of Friends." From Tyddynygarreg he reached Bala, and Penllyn, "where I was born and bred." Arriving there on the sixth it was announced that he would hold a meeting on the First Day at Cil Talgarth. Crowds of people came to the service. Great congregations had been witnessed there before, but never such a throng as on this occasion.

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<sup>1</sup> His interesting Journal was published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, July, 1894; and reprinted in *Wales* (O. M. Edwards), Vol. III., pp. 335, 370. *Byegones* has a transcript, 1894, p. 468.

The people of the place where he was born knew of his worth and work in the States, and gave him an enthusiastic reception. On passing into Montgomeryshire he had meetings at Llanwddyn and Dolobrán. Charles Lloyd and his wife and the Friends there shewed unstinted love toward him. At Cloddiau Cochion also he was well received. Thence he returned to Charles Lloyd, and Penllyn, where the meeting was at Robert Vaughan's, "which was bigger than the one before." Inasmuch as the house could not contain the people the service was conducted in the open. After a visit to the town of Denbigh he again returned to Penllyn, and ministered at Llwynybranes, and once more the place was too small. Wrexham was the next meeting visited, at John Merrick's; then Newtown, where he met Isaac Asten. Several places in England welcomed him also. In his journal he records how he visited John Mellor, at Leek, where he met his "ancient Friend, John ap John;" and John Hughes, in Maxfield. He returned to Wrexham, and Penllyn, where the meeting was "heavenly;" then to Dolgelley Quarterly Meeting, where he saw many Friends, and back to Penllyn. After a visit to Dolobrán Quarterly Meeting he conducted a service at Robert Vaughan's, Penllyn, when a vast concourse attended. People came from seven parishes. Afterward he attended meetings at Cil Talgarth, and Lewis Owen's Monthly Meeting, where he took leave of his North Wales Friends.

The journal contains an outspoken letter from Roberts to William Penn, wherein he expresses sorrow that Penn had lost the country, and also the disappointment of Welshmen who would never have gone out to Pennsylvania but for "the love, unity, and confidence" which they had in the founder. The explicit Welshman hints that if Penn had remained in the province the course of things would have been different. He blames Penn for his readiness to believe George Keith, and for writing to him, for the heretic was using the correspondence to injure the true Quakers, and to entice many from the Truth. Roberts states that he heard George Keith at a meeting of several hundreds of Friends call Quakers "blood thirsty hounds" ten times over, and that in great rage and passion: and not only that, "but with abundance of bad language," which he was loathe to quote. His fears concerning Keith were, unfortunately, fulfilled. One striking feature of the letter is his loyal championship of Thomas Lloyd. "No one," he writes, "could charge Lloyd of a hasty or unsavoury word." Thomas Lloyd to the last called his bitter enemy, Keith, a "Friend," but Keith called him a "Pope," a "Hypocrite," and an "impudent man." Quakers had not passed too harsh a judgment



on Keith, their one mistake was that they had not passed it earlier.

Ellis Pugh,<sup>1</sup> (1656—1718), minister, and author of *Annerch i'r Cymry*, [Literary Section], rendered distinguished service in Wales and Pennsylvania. He was convinced by "Sion ap Sion" (John ap John) as he affectionately calls him in his book, in 1674. Under his sermon Ellis Pugh felt himself lifted out of darkness into light, and the first truth that gripped him was this, that God is Father of the fatherless. Pugh's father died before his birth, and his mother passed away when he was a very young babe. In 1680, he began to serve in the public ministry, and was admired for his zeal and fine character. By trade he was a stone mason. His work at Dolgelley was hindered by persecution, for many of his flock were imprisoned. Families were scattered, and the Church, which numbered over one hundred members, dwindled because of emigration. Family after family left for Pennsylvania, and in 1686 (?), Pugh followed them, with other Friends from Dolgelley. Whilst waiting for the ship to be fitted for the voyage his spirit experienced such anguish that he was ill for days; then God, in a vision, revealed to him that the voyage would be full of trouble, and that great service awaited him in the country of his destination. The vision proved true for they were on the ocean for many months, and did not reach Barbadoes till January. Pennsylvania was not reached till the early summer of 1687.

Pugh ministered with great success in Pennsylvania, and exercised a holy influence wherever he went. In 1706, he returned to his native Wales, where he travelled and preached for two years. During his visit a considerable awakening took place among the Welsh Quakers. On his return to his family in America, he resumed his beneficent ministry, and continued actively in it for eight years, when, through suffering, he was disabled. The last fifteen months of his life Ellis Pugh bore patiently his enforced silence. According to the testimony of the Gwynedd Monthly Meeting, "He was in a declining state of health for more than a year before his decease, and unable to follow his calling, but his candle shone brighter, as may be seen by perusing his *Salutation to the Britons*, which he wrote with his own hand in his native language." He was a brother of low degree in his own estimation, but of high reputation among those whom he served. His last prayer was that Friends should dwell in unity and love, and keep out contention from the meeting and the

<sup>1</sup> Ellis Pugh was born in the parish of Dolgelley, in June, 1656. Memoir prefixed to *Annerch i'r Cymry* from testimony of the Monthly Meeting of Gwynedd, Pa.

fraternity. Here we catch an echo of the contentiousness whereof Penn and others sometimes complain. Welsh Quakers were not sparing of one another's feelings in controversy, neither at home, nor in America. Ellis Pugh pointed to a better way in word and behaviour.

Brynmawr is perpetuated in Pennsylvania by a railway station, a village, and a college. It stands about a mile and a half from Dolgelley, toward Mynydd Moel. Ellis Price and his wife were sturdy Quakers, and their son, Rowland Ellis, became a benefactor in the new province. Ellis Price was the son of Rees Lewis, and his wife Ann, the daughter of Humphrey ap Hugh, Llwyndu, Llwyngwrl. Rowland Ellis was their only son, to whom the aged father transferred the estate on the occasion of Rowland's marriage. When George Fox visited Dolgelley with John ap John in 1657 the heir of Brynmawr was a boy of seven.

Rowland Ellis, (1650—1731), married a rich wife, who died young, and left a daughter, Ann, heiress of a large estate. He was converted to Quakerism at the age of twenty-two. His second wife was Margaret Humphrey, daughter of the notable Quaker family at Llwyndu. In 1676, he was tried at Bala for not attending Church, but before the trial began another charge was preferred against him, for he refused to take the oath. Judge Walcott was cruel, for he declared that the men should be hanged, and woman burnt to death. However, he was prevented from taking such a course, for the law concerning heretics was repealed through the instrumentality of Thomas Lloyd, Dolobrán. At Dolgelley Prison no fire was allowed despite hard frost. After the death of Edward Price, one of the Quaker prisoners, Ellis, and others were released. He became a faithful minister.

In 1700, Rowland Ellis represented a part of Philadelphia in the Assembly, but religious service was more congenial to him, so after a few years he devoted his time to the work of the Church. He was a fine writer, and translated into English Ellis Pugh's *Annerch i'r Cymry* (Salutation to the Welsh). Ellis wrote the biography of his second wife Margaret Ellis, who was a remarkably gifted woman. They lived together for fifty-two years. In her old age blindness afflicted this noble woman.

Brynmawr College stands on a part of the estate owned by Rowland Ellis, which he called Brynmawr, after his Welsh home. The original residence of Rowland Ellis lies about one-third of a mile from the College. The halls of the College are reminiscent of Wales, for they are called Merion and Radnor.

The President of the College in 1888, Dr James Evans

Rhoads, traced his descent to a Welsh family named Evans, who settled in Penllyn, the other side of the Schkuylkill river. At the time of landing his ancestors were not Quakers, but eventually joined the Society.

Thomas Owen and his family were sent to Pennsylvania to start a settlement because the way was not clear for Rowland Ellis to go himself at that time. He was a man of great wealth and influence at Dolgelley, but emigration was the only way to escape loss and secure liberty. In 1686, he visited Pennsylvania, and took ship from Milford Haven for Bristol on 16, viii., 1686. Two hundred of his neighbours emigrated, whom he accompanied, with his son Rowland. The voyage was full of trouble. Owing to a famine on board there was a good deal of suffering. The ship touched Barbadoes, and was twenty-four weeks crossing the Atlantic. He remained in Pennsylvania for nine months, where he prepared a place for his family. His son and brother-in-law, John Humphrey, remained in the State, but he returned to Wales. Part of Plymouth, Pennsylvania, was bought by him. On his arrival he discovered that during his absence some of his possessions had been distressed. His daughter, Jane, married a parish priest, Richard Johnson, of Dolmochowgryd, in 1696. Hugh Roberts, of Pennsylvania, visited the couple twice during his tour in Wales. Rowland Ellis and his family emigrated in 1697, and lived at Plymouth. He sold Brynmawr to Lewis Owen, Tyddynygarreg, and Humphrey Owen.

Griffith Owen, the friend of Thomas Lloyd (Dolobrân) in Pennsylvania, became a prominent citizen and statesman. He was by profession a doctor of medicine. His home was in Merion. In 1686, he was appointed member of the Assembly, and again in 1688-9-90. With other Welshmen he received 40,000 acres from William Penn, with liberty to practice the native language, customs, and laws. Welsh was to be the official language in all the courts. The tract was not entirely appropriated by the Welsh, consequently, after 1690 other people flowed into the territory. While the first settlers lived Welsh prevailed, but we do not find that it was the language of the law courts. Griffith Owen rendered faithful Christian service, and was honoured of all.

In 1695, he visited the old country, and had for his companion, Thomas Janney, Pa., who died at Hitchin, in 1696, *en route* for Cheshire, the county of his birth. Before emigrating he practised as physician in Lancashire. This distinguished son of Dolserau occupies a prominent place among the Welsh founders of Pennsylvania. Died in 1717-18.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide literature in this work.*

## EMIGRANTS

*With date of Departure.*

[Those who settled in Merion and Gwynedd are also given by Glenn in *Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania*.

Edward Edwards, Dolgelley district, labourer, in the employ of Robert Owen, Dolserau. Duck Creek, 1684.

Lowry Edwards, Dolgelley district, maid-servant. Duck Creek, 1684.

Margaret Edwards, Dolgelley district, maid-servant. Duck Creek, 1684.

Peter Edwards, 1683. Purchased 100 acres of land.

Cadwaladr Ellis, 1700. Purchased 295 acres of Hugh Roberts, at Ridley Creek, Goshen, Pa., before 1706.

Gwen Ellis, of Bala district, spinster, before 1697.

Humphrey Ellis, with his widow-mother, Jane Cadwaladr, and uncle, John Cadwaladr, 1696.

Mary Ellis, Dolgelley, widow, with two children, 1683.

Robert Ellis, son of Rowland Ellis, Brynmawr, near Dolgelley, 1686, when his father visited the colony. Married Margaret, daughter of William John, Gwynedd, Pa., and had one daughter.

Rowland Ellis, son of Rowland Ellis, 1686. Died 1737.

Thomas Sion Evan (Thomas Jones), Bala, yeoman. The first Welshman to land in Pennsylvania, 16, iv., 1682, near site of Philadelphia. Freeholder of 300 acres in Radnor. Died 1707.

David Evans, Llanfachreth parish, gentleman. Freeholder, 1684. Thrice married, and had nine children.

David Evans, of North Wales, at Philadelphia, before 1700. Freeholder. Deputy Sheriff of city 1714-21. Thrice married, and had six children. Died in 1745.

Philip Evans, of Llanfachreth parish. Married. Freeholder, 1684.

Hugh Griffith, Bala district, yeoman, son of Griffith ap Evan, Ucheldre, 1696. Later settled in Gwynedd. Married and had six children.

James Griffith, of same place, 1698.

Jane Griffith, Llangelynin district, spinster, 1690.

Robert Griffith, of Llanfor parish. Died at sea during passage across, 1698. Left widow and several children, who settled in Gwynedd.

Cadwaladr Thomas ap Hugh, Cil Talgarth, interested in emigration. Merion Pa., outcome of his project. Died after imprisonment in Wales.

Margaret Hugh, Bala district, spinster, 1696.



Stephen Hugh, 1683. Settled at Springfield, Pa. Died same year, and left widow and daughter.

Gobitha Humphrey, Llangelynin parish, spinster, daughter of Samuel Humphrey, 1683.

Maurice Humphrey, Bala district, married and had two sons, 1699.

Owen Humphrey, settled in Philadelphia, administered the estate of Rowland Ellis in 1726.

Samuel Humphrey, Llangelynin parish, gentleman, son of Humphrey ap Hugh, Llwyndu, Llwyngwrl. Eight children settled in the Colony.

Margaret John, Llangelynin parish, widow, 1683.

Margaret John, sister to William John, after 1700.

William John, of North Wales. Freeholder. Bequeathed after 1700, his land to Margaret, his sister.

Cadwaladr Jones, Bala district, 1698.

Cadwaladr Jones, 1700. Died at Uwchllan, Chester co., 1758. Married and had several children.

David Jones, Cil Talgarth, son of John David, 1699, settled in Blockley, Pa. Married Catherine, daughter of James Lewis, Pem., 1693, and had seven children.

Evan Jones, of Llanfihangel parish, yeoman, son of John Pugh, 1712. Married Hannah, daughter of Hugh David, Gwynedd, Pa.

Evan Jones, Dolgelley district, yeoman, 1683. Married Hannah, daughter of Mary Ellis.

John Jones, Cil Talgarth, son of John David, before 1700.

Robert Jones, Bala district, son of John Evan, of Penmaen, Llanfor, 1696. Married, and settled in Abington.

Gainor Lloyd, Llanfor parish, widow, 1690. Sister of Robert and Thomas Lloyd, of Merion, Pa.

Lowry Lloyd, Llanfor parish, widow of Thomas Lloyd, of Penmaen, 1685.

Robert Lloyd, Llangower parish, yeoman. One of Edward Jones' company. Owned  $76\frac{1}{2}$  acres in Merion and elsewhere.

Ellis Morgan, of Dolgyn Uchaf, Dolgelley, gentleman, 1682. Sold 182 acres to Thomas Ellis, and did not leave Wales, by all account.

Evan Morris, Tyddynygarreg district, 1690.

Jane Morris, spinster, Montgomery, Pa., 1710.

William Morris, tailor, Montgomery, Pa., 1710. Married.

Ann Owen, Dolgelley district, maid in family of Robert Owen, relative, 1684.

Elizabeth Owen, of Bala district, spinster, daughter of Owen ap Hugh, of Cerrig-y-Druidion, before 1689. Married to Thomas Andrews (2nd wife), Philadelphia, the same year.

Griffith Owen, of Lancashire, physician, son of Robert Owen, Dolserau, emigrated in 1684. Freeholder in Merion and elsewhere. Died 1717-18. Married Sarah, daughter of John Songhurst, or Longhurst, and had ten children.

Lewis Owen, of Dolserau, near Dolgelley, gentleman, son of Robert Owen, Dolserau. Settled in Duck Creek, 1684. Freeholder. Died 1708-9, married and had five children.

Lewis Owen, of Gwanas, Mer., gentleman, bought 72 acres in the colony in 1682, but did not remove thither.

Robert Owen, of Dolserau, near Dolgelley, gentleman, son of Humphrey Owen, Dolserau. Settled in Duck Creek, Newcastle, co., Pa., in 1684. Died in 1685-6. Married Jane, daughter of Robert Vaughan, of Hengwrt, the antiquary, and had nine children—six sons, if not more.

Rowland Owen, of Gwanas, Mer., bought 183 acres in 1682, but disposed of them, and did not leave Wales.

Evan William Powell, Llanfachreth, gentleman, 1684. Died during voyage, left widow and two sons.

Ellis Pugh, Brithdir, Dolgelley, yeoman, 1686. Married a widow, Sina, who had nine small children.

William Pugh, Dolgelley, yeoman, 1688. Married and had nine children.

William Pugh, Dolgelley, yeoman, 1688, wife and daughter.

David Rees, Fronwen, Llanfor, yeoman, 1700.

Thomas ap Richard, Nantlleidiog, Llanfor parish, 1682. He held 156 $\frac{1}{4}$  acres, but it is not certain whether he left Wales.

Morris Richards, Dolgelley, tailor, 1710. Died during voyage, left widow and several children.

David Robert, Tyddynygarreg district, minor orphan, 1686.

Ellen Robert, Tyddynygarreg district, sister.

Katherine Robert, widow, second wife of John Thomas, Llaithgwm, and her children, 1683.

Margaret Robert, Llanfor parish, spinster, 1698.

Grace Robert, Tyddynygarreg, orphan, 1686.

Griffith Robert, Dolgelley, with two children, 1707.

John Cadwaladr Rowland, Bala district, 1696.

John ap Thomas, Llaithgwm, gentleman, died just before date for emigration. Widow and children sailed 1683.

John Watkin, of Gwernefel, Llanycil parish, yeoman. Purchased 156 $\frac{1}{2}$  acres in 1682, sold some of his land to Hugh Roberts, 1684. Remained in Wales most probably.

Evan John William, Llanfachreth, gentleman, 1684.

Ellis Williams. Purchased land from Edward Jones, surgeon, in 1720. Emigrated about 1700.

Humphrey Williams, Bala district, 1698.

## DENBIGHSHIRE.

Denbighshire supplied Wales with its first great exponent of Quakerism, John ap John. The county had been blessed with spiritual Puritan leaders, whose teaching bore some Quaker characteristics. The following picture affords a glimpse of what opponents said about the first Quakers:—

About October, 1653, certain Quakers visited the district of Wrexham to gain proselytes at their meetings.<sup>1</sup> "After long silence, sometimes one, sometimes more, fell into great and dreadful shakings with such swellings in their bodies, sending out such shriekings and howlings as not only frightened the beholders, but caused dogs to bark, swine to cry, and the cattle to run about." This report was contradicted by John ap John and Roger ap John.<sup>2</sup> The story regarding William Spencer's experience with a Quaker may be given if only to illustrate the kind of tales circulated by opponents. Spencer lay with a Quaker three nights, and the last night could not sleep. Something buzzed about the Quaker's head which frightened him, and when he attempted to rise the Quaker persuaded him to lie still, when suddenly, a storm arose, which shook the house. Again he sought to rise, but the Quaker told him to lie quiet, and expect the power, and began humming something. Spencer struggled vehemently to rise but the Quaker laid his head on Spencer's shoulders, "and did blow like the hissing of a goose several times toward his mouth, which made him leap out of the bed crying for a light and guide to conduct him forth."

## SUFFERERS.

1661. Fourteen Friends were committed for refusing to swear, and were kept in prison for two months, where they had nothing beside straw to lie on.

On the 1st December, Bryan Sixsmith, William Lewis, William Kidder, John ap Edward, Nathaniel Buttel, Richard Humblock, Thomas Morris, Thomas Gwin, Hugh Davis, and David Thomas were met in their own hired house at Wrexham, whence they were haled out by soldiers, and taken with a *mittimus* from constable to constable to Ruthin Gaol. Several were poor men with large families. James Fletcher, who came to visit Friends in prison at Wrexham, was detained

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<sup>1</sup> *The Fanatick History*, 1660, pp. 108-9. The tales in this volume prove that the writer was a "fanatick."

<sup>2</sup> *John ap John*, Suppt. No. 6, F. H. Soc.

till a warrant was secured to take him before a magistrate, and because he would not swear was imprisoned.

1684. Thomas Owen, who was appointed constable, refused to swear or to take the Oath of Allegiance, for which he was sent to prison.

John ap Edward was distrained upon a false information of attendance at a meeting. A mare, bridle, and saddle, worth £3, were taken from him.

## MEETINGS.

### PENYCEFN, RUABON.

According to the Rev. T. Shankland, M.A., who has made a diligent search into the history of *John ap John and Catherine*,<sup>1</sup> his wife, the first Quaker meeting in Wales was held at Penycefn, the paternal home of John ap John, in 1653. George Fox, the day before he reached Wrexham in 1657, met "many Friends, and the Lord's everlasting power was over all." Probably, the place was John ap John's home. After his marriage with Catherine Edwards, in 1663, the meeting was removed to Plas Eva, Trefor, the house of his wife, where it flourished until he returned to Penycefn to live. The date of his return is not certain. The cause of this removal is clearly explained by Mr. Shankland—the marriage of Richard Davies, the son of Catherine ap John by her first husband, heir of Plas Eva Estate, with Anne Barnes, of Warrington (c. 1680). The meeting at Penycefn continued till 1695, whence it was removed to Rhuddallt. The Yearly Meeting for Wales was held at Penycefn, township of Coed Cristionydd (Christonate), on the 18, 1, 1692-3, (the Coed Epionaid) of the old document quoted in *First Publishers of Truth*.<sup>2</sup> Many Friends from the counties of Denbigh, Montgomery, and Merioneth attended this great meeting. After the death of John ap John, Penycefn, became the property of his daughter, Phoebe Mellor, of Whitehough, Staffordshire.

Coed Cristionydd was a Nonconformist stronghold. William Wynne, under the Declaration of Indulgence, 1672, registered his house for a meeting place, but what denomination is not given.

### TREFOR.

In 1663, Thomas Holme held a meeting at "Katherine

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* his Welsh Article in *Cymru*, a monthly magazine, 1919, pp. 177-183, "Who were John ap John and Catherine, his wife?"

<sup>2</sup> p. 321. 1 note.



Edwards's, which J. Jones (John ap John) is to have." This was at Plas Eva,<sup>1</sup> apparently, her home through marriage with David ap Edward, of that place.

In 1667, John ap John, and Catherine, his wife, of Trefor; Roger ap John, of Penyclawdd; and Thomas ap Pugh, of Chirk appeared as Quakers before the general Sessions at Ruthin.

John Robinson, of Gwersyllt, near Wrexham, a justice of the peace, and an informer, caused John ap John and others to be fined to the extent of £20 15s. od. for holding a Conventicle at John ap John's house, at Trefor, in 1670. Fourteen pounds of this sum was paid to the informer.

Several travelling ministers visited Plas Eva, and were entertained by John ap John and his wife during their residence there,—John Burnyeat in 1676, Richard Davies and C. Lloyd. When the Ellesmere Canal was being constructed (1795–1805), some of the *debris* was cast upon the old graveyard which was in a field of Plas Eva. There are some tombstones in the garden of this old house.<sup>2</sup>

#### RHUDDALLT.

Richard Davies, Rhuddallt, was a generous supporter of Quakerism in the Ruabon and Wrexham districts. The meeting at Rhuddallt was settled in 1695, when John ap John removed from Penycefn, Ruabon, to live with his daughter and her husband, John Mellor, at Whitehough. Mr. Shankland does not accept the account of some historians, that the meeting returned from Rhuddallt to Cefn Bychan after 1724, and the account of Mr. T. A. Glenn seems to support this view, for he records that the two sons of Richard Davies—Edward and John Davies—emigrated to Pennsylvania about 1713. The Cause, therefore, became extinct through emigration.<sup>3</sup>

Richard Davies was present with John ap John and Roger ap John at the Yearly Meeting, held at Garthgynfor, near Dolgelley, in 1685. His namesake of Welshpool pleaded with Bishop Lloyd on his behalf, and the chancellor, Dr Wynne, liberated him from prison.

Phoebe, the daughter of John ap John, was married at Rhuddallt on the 8, iii., 1689, to John Mellor, of Whitehough, Staffordshire.

On the 9, xi., 1694, Catherine ap John died at the house of her son, Richard Davies, at Rhuddallt, and was buried at

<sup>1</sup> It stood near the Sun Inn, close to the road from Ruabon to Llan-gollen.

<sup>2</sup> *Byegones*, 1903, p. 246.

<sup>3</sup> *Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania*, Vol. II.

Trefor. Here again we see the value of Mr. Shankland's findings, for they explain why Catherine ap John was at Rhuddallt. She had died at her son's house.

Richard Davies and Tryall Rider were desired, in 1697, at the Yearly Meeting held at Llanidloes, to assist in reviving the mid-week service at Rhuddallt.

In 1703, the burial ground and meeting house at Rhuddallt were under consideration. William Fallowfield was appointed to speak to John Mellor about the matter, and to settle the room for a burying place, or, if he saw it inconvenient, to contribute another place.

Rhuddallt was a small hamlet, now absorbed by Wynnstay Park. It contained several freehold properties. Rhuddallt Isaf belonged to Edward ap Randal, of the Yale family. Catherine ap John was his daughter. She bought out her three sister's interest in the patrimony. By her marriage with David ap Edward, of Trefor, their only son, Richard, who adopted his father's Christian name as surname, inherited both estates upon his coming of age—Trefor and Rhuddallt.

#### WREXHAM.

Wrexham church, called by some Puritans "schismatic Wrexham," supplied the first Welsh Apostle of Quakerism, John ap John. Quaker ministers frequently visited the town in the early years of the movement. In the latter end of the 8<sup>th</sup> month, 1653,<sup>1</sup> Richard Hubberthorne and John Lawson, both Friends from Lancashire, visited Wrexham, and testified for the Lord, but the professors of that place refused their testimony, so they proceeded into Cheshire. We have described already in another section the treatment they gave Morgan Llwyd,<sup>2</sup> the minister of Wrexham Church, at that time.

George Fox visited the town in 1657, but his reception was not so cordial as in parts of South Wales. The members of Morgan Llwyd's congregation who came to the meeting are described as "very rude and wild, and airy," with "little sense of Truth" in them. One woman asked lightly of Fox if she could cut his hair for him, and, although, "in her frothy mind," she boasted that she had cut a lock of his hair from behind: this "was a lie."

James Fletcher, of Knowsley, in the year 1660, on his return from a visit to Ireland came to Wrexham to comfort the Friends in prison. The gaoler, without authority, kept him in gaol till a warrant was procured to bring him before

<sup>1</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Morgan Llwyd resigned in 1657, and was followed by Philip Henry, and afterward, Ambrose Mostyn, a Presbyterian.

a justice of the peace. On refusing to take the oath he was kept in the common prison for 16 weeks, without straw to lie on, in cold winter. Because he refused to purchase meat of the gaoler he was kept without it for days.

For many years the Quakers at Wrexham held meetings in their own houses. Ten Friends, in 1661, did this.

In 1663, Brian Sixsmith, a draper; William Lewis,<sup>1</sup> a corvisor, and John ap Edward, a butcher, were fined for not attending Church.

In 1668, John James and John Meredith were fined at Ruthin (14 July) for attending several Conventicles, £2 and £5, respectively, or three months imprisonment.

The Quakers at Wrexham were surrounded by informers and envious Puritans. The town was an important centre of Independency. Eleven of the twenty-seven meetings held by Commissioners in North Wales met at Wrexham. Lectures under the bequest of Sir William Meredith were popular there. The Quakers and Puritans agreed in Wrexham in one thing—their opposition to a liturgical service. Morgan Llwyd called it “mechanical religion,” and in *Book of Three Birds* advised the eagle to bury it.

Religion was pre-eminent in its claims in the town, and the people, since the stirring ministry of Walter Cradoc, were great “sermon-tasters.” Crowds were wont to gather at six in the morning to hear him, but wrathful malsters forced him to retire to the house of a generous Puritan at Brampton Bryan, where also Morgan Llwyd was a visitor. Morgan Llwyd and Vavasor Powell, converts of Cradoc, were firm believers in the imminent coming of the Lord. Llwyd imparted this belief to many professors in Wrexham, and wrote to Cromwell about the early coming of the Lord. We record these things in order that the reader may have a little of the atmosphere wherein the Quakers of Wrexham lived and testified.

The Quaker meeting house was licensed as a place of worship in July, 1708. The meeting house—consisting of two newly-erected cottages with gardens—was procured by John James, dyer, and Hannah Newton, flax-dresser,<sup>2</sup> on the 7th April, 1708, from Thomas Kynaston, Penley, for the sum of £32 15s. 0d. The upper storey was used for meetings, while the lower part was let as tenements. The meeting house was situated at the lower part of Chester Street, on the land called Lampint, now Holt Street.

The following Monthly Meetings contributed toward the

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<sup>1</sup> William Lewis, in 1666, issued a halfpenny token, by permission.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Davies, of Rhuddallt, had a hand in this transaction.

setting up of the new meeting house :—Frandleigh, £14 10s. ; Morley, £9 16s. ; Nantwich, £4 3s.<sup>1</sup>

Richard Davies, Welshpool, and Charles Lloyd, Dolobran, in 1675, visited Penllyn and Bala, where Quakers were cruelly persecuted at the time. "From thence we went to John ap John's, at Wrexham, and visited Friends there, and then came home to our families." John Burnyeat, on his return from a second visit to America, in 1675, came to Wrexham, and took with him John ap John as companion through Merionethshire into Pembrokeshire and Monmouthshire.

John Gratton, of Monyash, Derbyshire, was at Wrexham in 1691. In 1697, at the Llanidloes Meeting, held in the house of the Mayor, Robert Evans, Richard Davies, and Tryall Ryder were asked to assist and encourage the mid-week meetings at Wrexham and Rhuddallt.

Thomas Story, in 1717, after his return from Pennsylvania travelled to Wrexham with Sarah Lloyd, Dolobran, and her son and daughter. John James entertained him. The meeting was small through lack of due notice, "but many things opened full and large."

#### HOLT.

Quakers had a meeting at Holt, which was visited by Friends from the North and elsewhere. In 1682, a plot of land, measuring 240 square yards, was bought by Arthur Paynter and John Newton, for a burial ground, for the sum of £4, which continued in the possession of Quakers till 1838, or thereabout, when it was sold. At present it is a strawberry patch, known as Quakers Yard.

Benjamin Boulton, of Knowsley, Lancashire, travelled in the Lord's service to Bristol and other places, and suffered the loss of goods, and imprisonment for 14 weeks at Shrewsbury. When released from Shrewsbury Gaol he began his journey homewards, but died on the 25<sup>th</sup>, 1<sup>mo</sup>, 1660-1, before reaching it, and was buried at the Friends' burial ground at Holt.<sup>2</sup>

Thomas Yarwood, of Mobberley, Cheshire, a minister, was buried at Holt in 1695.<sup>3</sup> Yarwood was not a great traveller, but he visited meetings near his home. His words, though

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Older Nonconformity of Wrexham and Neighbourhood*, by A. N. Parmer, 1888, pp. 122—130. Wrexham was associated with Cheshire. Frandleigh, etc., were the chief meetings in the county.

<sup>2</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 19.



few, contained "the seed of life to the comfort of the faithful." He suffered for his witness the loss of goods and imprisonment in Chester. Died in Chester on the 16<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>mo</sup>, 1695, aged 74.

In the days of Cromwell, John Saddler was made Governor of Holt, and the Puritan ministers were, Randall Proudlove and Ambrose Mostyn, appointed 16 Oct., 1656.

#### DENBIGH.

John Kelsale in his diary refers to a meeting held at the house of John Parry, Denbigh, in 1730.

#### EMIGRANTS.

##### *With date of their Departure.<sup>1</sup>*

David Davies, of Rhuddallt Isaf, son of Richard Davies, Rhuddallt, before 1713.

John Davies, Nantwich, brother, yeoman, emigrated the same time,

John Davies, grocer. Bound for four years servitude, 19, x., 1698, in Virginia. Afterward settled in Pennsylvania.

Richard Davies, Rhuddallt Isaf, strong advocate of emigration, and first purchaser of land, did not leave Wales.

Mary Foulke, Wrexham district, purchased 200 acres from John ap John in 1682.

Humphrey Howell, bound for four years servitude, 1698.

John Humphrey, twelve years of age, bound for nine years to George Tyrer, 29, i., 1702.

John ap John bought 5000 acres with Dr. Thomas Wynn 15, ix., 1681, but did not emigrate. Disposed of his portion to settlers.

Owen Parry, of Dinhinlle Isaf, yeoman, 1682. Purchased 150 acres of John ap John.

Thomas ap Prichard, cordwainer, with wife and five children, 1698.

Ann Prichard, Denbigh town, 1700. Sister to the following : Benjamin Prichard, Jane Prichard, John Prichard, same date.

Isaac Whelan, or Wheldon, Llanrwst. Purchased land from J. ap John, 1682.

John Wynn, Ruthin, bound for five years, 1698.

Robert Wynn, Brynyrowen, gentleman, son of Griffith Wynn, about 1682.

Thomas Wynn, brother, settled in Maryland, 1671. Family removed to Pennsylvania.

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<sup>1</sup> Glenn's *Welsh Founders of Penna.*, Vol. I.

## FLINTSHIRE AND CARNARVONSHIRE.

The two most important Quakers in Flintshire were Dr. Thomas Wynne,<sup>1</sup> Caerwys, and Richard Thomas, Whitford Garn. Several travelling ministers, including Fox, visited the county, but the converts were not numerous.

Carnarvonshire boasted of only two or three Quakers. John Roberts, of Llanengan, emigrated in 1683 to Pennsylvania, where he occupied important positions.

### SUFFERERS. FLINTSHIRE.

1661. A company of soldiers surprised a number of Friends on their way to a meeting, who refused the oath of allegiance tendered to them by two justices, with the result that all were committed to the county gaol, where they remained for two years and a half. The following is a list of their names:—John Baddely, John Newton, Owen Painter, Robert Pritchard, John Griffis, John Roane, Thomas Taylor, William Spann, Roger Urian, Roger Smith, Randal Croxton, Randal Weaver, Richard Andrews, and Henry Marry.

### SUFFERERS. CARNARVONSHIRE.

1684. Upon information of a meeting at his house Evan Morris was taken by a warrant from Hugh Roberts, Bodwrda, to Carnarvon Gaol, and there remained till the next Quarter Sessions, when he refused the oath of allegiance, and was re-committed.

### CAERWYS, FLINTSHIRE.

Flintshire supplied one outstanding Friend who occupied a conspicuous place in Welsh Quakerism, and afterward, in Pennsylvania—Thomas Wynne, practitioner of physic.

In the year 1681 he accompanied Richard Davies to the Bishop's Palace at St. Asaph, when water-baptism was the subject of a prolonged discussion. In *Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania* we have a record of his efforts to become a doctor.<sup>2</sup> As we observe in the literature section Wynne was

<sup>1</sup> For his literary contributions see *Literature* in this work, *Account of his Early Life*, published in *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, Vol. 25, p. 104, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> Called then a barber surgeon. When young he would wander far from home to see a broken limb dressed by the doctor. Richard Moore, the Quaker doctor, of Salop, assisted him in his studies, and Mordecai Moore was apprenticed for seven years to Wynne.

the author of two books, written in defence of Quakerism. He was born at Bronvadog, Ysceifiog parish, near Caerwys. He and his family crossed the Atlantic in the ship *Welcome* with William Penn as fellow-passenger. Wynne was appointed Speaker of the First Provincial Assembly in Philadelphia, 12, i., 1683. The Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia selected him as one of those entrusted with the choice of a site for the meeting house, and the manner of building to be erected. The first Monthly Meeting held in Philadelphia, 9, xi., 1682, was attended by him.

At Caerwys and Bala several old streets were built at right angles. The same feature characterized some of the streets in Philadelphia, and according to one writer, Wynne was the designer. The first brick house in Pennsylvania belonged to him. In 1684, both he and his wife returned to the old country, in the ketch *Endeavour*, and had William Penn as companion. On his return to the new country he settled at Lewes, Sussex county. His brother accompanied him on the first voyage. Wynne Wood was called after his name. His services as preacher were of inestimable value in the new province. Mary Wynne, his daughter, married the friend of John ap Thomas, Llaithgwm, Edward Jones, a doctor of medicine.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Holme, in a letter to George Fox, 11, iv., 1663, wrote: "It was upon us to give Friends in Wales a visit, and when we passed out of Cheshire we got a meeting in Flintshire." The locality is not mentioned, therefore, conjecture is idle.<sup>2</sup>

John Gratton, in 1691, visited Hawarden.<sup>3</sup>

George Fox, in company with John ap John, held meetings in the towns of the county in 1657.<sup>4</sup>

## EMIGRANTS FROM FLINTSHIRE.

Margaret Jones, Holywell, sixteen years of age, transported for seven years to America. No crime mentioned. Had relatives in Pennsylvania, according to one authority (Glenn).

Richard ap Thomas, Whitford Garn, 1682-3. Freeholder in Chester co.

John Wynne, Bronvadog, near Caerwys, gentleman, son of Thomas ap John Wynne of same place, 1682, or soon afterward.

<sup>1</sup> *Welsh Founders of Penna.*, Vol. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal Suppt.*, 6, *John ap John*, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal Suppt.*, 6, *John ap John*, p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Fox's Journal*, Camb. Press ed., Vol. I.

Thomas Wynne, physician and surgeon, brother, of same place, 1682. Purchased 2500 acres. John ap John purchased the same amount, making 5000 between them.

#### PROBABLE EMIGRANTS FROM CARNARVONSHIRE.

Owen Foulke, of Bettws-y-coed parish. Freeholder. Deed dated 25, vii., 1682. Not known whether he left Wales.

Thomas Foulke, probably of Carnarvonshire. Settled in West Jersey in 1677. Commissioner of lands. Later had interests in Pennsylvania. Married and had one son.

#### CHESHIRE.

John ap John was the first in Wales to suffer imprisonment for Quakerism, but he was not the first Welshman to suffer.

Edward Morgan was imprisoned for nine weeks in 1653, in Chester Gaol, for being present at a meeting in that city, held by Thomas Holme. In 1656, he was cast into prison for refusing to take the oath, in a case which he brought against a servant who had robbed him. The Mayor discharged the thief, but sent Morgan, a respectable citizen, to gaol, where he was detained for eleven weeks, and then privately released. From gaol he sent a letter to the Mayor by Deborah Madocks, who, because she came in a manner he called irreverent, was put in Little Ease for four hours. Edward Morgan was sent to Little Ease in 1657 "for not pulling off his hat" in a complaint before the Mayor against a drunken fellow, who had grossly abused him. The drunkard escaped unpunished.<sup>1</sup> Other Welshmen who suffered in this county were Jeremiah Owen<sup>2</sup> and Thomas Griffith. The sentence of *praemunire* was passed upon Griffith in 1685, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance.<sup>3</sup> Owen, who was a baker, had bread taken from him in 1683 by distress, and offered to the poor, but the poor refused it, saying they would starve rather than take it. His offence was absence from worship. For the Welsh Pedigree of Jeremiah Owen see *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, Vol. I., 28.

#### SHROPSHIRE.

Shropshire is included by Besse in Wales, and among those who suffered in this county many were Welsh.

1656. A religious meeting held on a Sunday near the Steeple-house Yard at Cressedge was broken up. The

<sup>1</sup> Besse's *Sufferings of the Quakers*, Bk. I., pp. 99, 100, 101.

<sup>2</sup> Besse's *Sufferings of the Quakers*, Bk. I., p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Besse's *Sufferings of the Quakers*, Bk. I., p. 112.



preacher was carried away by the constable, and while one was engaged in prayer the servant of the priest, Samuel Smith, made a great noise with kettles, a candlestick and frying-pan, endeavouring to drown his voice with their din. Water was thrown in the faces of some by the priest's maid. The men, for refusing to take off their hats in court, were sent to gaol for contempt. Constantine Overton, Humphry Overton, and Thomas Jenks, three of the prisoners, had associations with Wales.<sup>1</sup>

1661. Richard Davies, of Welshpool, was taken prisoner with William Gibson, and 25 or 26 more at a meeting at Edgemont, near Wem, in Shropshire, and sent to Shrewsbury. The gaoler at first was very cruel. Their trial took place at Bridgnorth, when all were discharged except William Gibson. Richard Davies gives an interesting account of the imprisonment. [*Autobiog. R. Davies*, 5th edition, 1794, pp. 46-51.]

1662. For refusing to pay tithes Constantine Overton and Humphry Overton were sufferers at Shrewsbury; and Thomas James was excommunicated, and kept in close confinement sixteen months.<sup>2</sup>

1670. Owen Roberts and the Overtons were distressed for attending a meeting at Shrewsbury.<sup>3</sup> Thomas Mansell likewise was fined for attending a meeting, and Susan Mansell had goods distrained for refusing tithes.

## BURIAL PLACES BETWEEN 1662—1721.

From the records in the custody of the Society of Friends we find that the following burial places are mentioned during 1662—1721. Although the names of persons who died are given, and the date, the place of burial is seldom added. The list may prove interesting, and may be augmented by other burial places which are well-known, such as Llwyngwrl, Quaker's Yard, etc., mentioned in other parts of this work. Pontymoile, 1662; Marshfield, 1667; Westhook, 1670; Tenby, 1675; Llandewy, 1679; Puncteston, 1683; Pant, 1694; Langhorn, 1696; Brecknock, 1699; Jamestown, 1699; Cardiff, 1700; Shire Newton, 1701; Easthook, 1716; Brynmaen, 1721.

<sup>1</sup> Besse's *Sufferings*, Vol. I., p. 736.

<sup>2</sup> Besse's *Sufferings*, Vol. I., p. 750.

<sup>3</sup> Besse's *Sufferings*, Vol. I., p. 753-4-762.

## V.

## William Penn—Welsh Tract—Holy Experiment.



WILLIAM PENN (1644—1718), as his cognomen signifies, was of Welsh extraction. It was derived from Penn-mynydd, Angelsey, whence his ancestors proceeded with Owen Tudor to England. His forbears gave the name of Penn to all the places inhabited by them in Buckinghamshire—Penn Wood, Penn Street, and Penn House. William Penn, a Londoner by birth, was not ashamed to own his Welsh ancestry.<sup>1</sup> He was attracted by the old country, and placed in positions of trust several Welshmen. As Hugh Roberts said, hundreds of Welsh people followed him to Pennsylvania because of the faith they had in him.

In 1675, Penn, already known as a gentleman, preacher, and author, appeared in the character of a statesman, for in that year he was asked to arbitrate between two Quakers who could not agree about a tract of land bought by them from Lord Berkeley in New Jersey, America. Much time was spent by him in an endeavour to understand the situation, and to arrive at a just decision. John Fenwick, one of the parties, rejected Penn's award, which caused him bitter disappointment. The other Quaker, Edward Billinge, not having sufficient means to pay for his portion placed the matter in the hands of trustees, in order that he might raise a mortgage, and William Penn consented to act for him, as supervisor.<sup>2</sup> The land was divided, a map prepared, and regulations favourable for emigrants were drafted by Penn, with

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<sup>1</sup> William Penn, on board the *Canterbury* in 1700, in conversation with Hugh David, an emigrant, remarked on seeing a goat nibbling at a broom which was lying hard by: "Hugh, dost thou observe the goat? See what hardy fellows the Welsh are: how they can feed on a broom. However, Hugh, I am a Welshman myself." The original name was Tudor. One John Tudor who lived on top of a hill was called John Penn—munith. He removed to Ireland, became rich, and on his return home was addressed by his old friends as Mr. Penn. Afterwards he removed to London. *Vide Merion in Welsh Tract*, by T. A. Glenn, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> He assigned to Penn and two others nine-tenths of the new territory.

the result that 184 Quakers crossed the Atlantic, and settled in the new territory. It is quite possible that some Welsh Quakers were among the settlers. The settlement was a recognized success by the year 1680. but, unfortunately, the authorities of New York became envious and imposed a tax of 10% on all goods exported and imported on the Delaware. Penn, who was an ardent Free-trader, opposed this measure, for he saw that it would ruin the young colony ; and after tactful negotiations he succeeded in establishing Free-trade. His experiences as supervisor in New Jersey made him conversant with the advantages and disadvantages of colonization. The success of New Jersey attracted the attention of the Home Government, and Penn became qualified for a greater adventure.

Whilst examining one day his father's accounts, who had been dead ten years, he discovered that the British Government owed him for his great services as Admiral, the sum of £16,000. At that time he had no need of money for his own use, and therefore asked the King to grant him land in America to that value. In the meantime (1681), while the request was being considered, another settlement was entrusted to him in the eastern part of the New Jersey State, and here again he succeeded rapidly, and before the end of the year many from Scotland crossed over as settlers. Penn and eleven other Friends purchased the remainder of the province, from the proprietor, Sir George Carteret. Robert Barclay, of Uric, the Quaker author, was made governor for life. Penn's popularity incensed his enemies, and the result was another bitter persecution of the Quakers. The brave leader sought to comfort his fellow-sufferers, and prepared their minds to follow him to a new country. The King and Parliament having considered his petition for land, decided to grant it, and a charter was signed at Westminster, 4, iii., 1681. Penn gave up New Jersey, gratified that the 1500 emigrants were in a prosperous condition.

In a letter from William Penn to Robert Turner, dated 1681,<sup>1</sup> the founder stated that he chose New Wales as a fitting name for the territory. "Being as this is a pretty hilly country, but Penn being Welsh for a head, as Penmanmoire (Penmaenmawr), in Wales, and Penrith in Cumberland, and Penn in Bucks, the highest land in England, they called this Pennsylvania, with is the high or head woodlands, for I proposed, when the Secretary, a Welshman, refused to have

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<sup>1</sup> Printed in *Merion in the Welsh Tract*, p. 22.

it called New Wales, Sylvania singly, but twenty guineas could not move the Under-Secretary to vary it."

Penn immediately published a minute description of Pennsylvania, a copy of the charter, and the conditions for settlers. One hundred acres of land were offered for the sum of two pounds, and one shilling per annum, per hundred acres, quit rent. The native Indians were placed on the same footing with settlers, freedom of conscience was granted to all alike, so that every man could worship the Creator according to his own light, provided this right did not encroach upon the rights of his neighbour. Penn wrote: "For my country I eyed the Lord in the obtaining of it, and more was I drawn inward to look to Him, and to owe it to His Hand and Power, than to any other way. I have so obtained it, and desire that I may not be unworthy of His Love, and do that which may answer His kind providence, and serve His truth and people; that an example may be set up to the nations, there may be room there though not here for such a *holy experiment*."

Plato propounded a theoretical Republic, Thomas More dreamed of a Utopia, and John Locke planned a Fundamental Constitution, which was tried and failed. William Penn, also a visionary, succeeded in giving practical form to his ideal State. "*Holy experiment*" proved that it was workable, and its noblest aspirations remain in the American Constitution at the present time.

As soon as Penn announced the conditions of settlement in his new State the whole country seethed with a desire to emigrate, in order to enjoy liberty, and to save the little which remained to them after the heavy fines and cruel losses sustained through imprisonment. In a few days twenty thousand acres were sold, and the first colonists sailed away in three ships—two from London, *John and Mary* (?) captained by Henry Smith, and *Amity*, whose captain was R. Dimon. The third proceeded from Bristol, called *The Bristol Factor*, under the charge of Roger Drew. Owing to rough weather this ship did not reach Pennsylvania till late spring having been carried by the wind to the West Indies.

In 1682 the largest number of colonists who arrived in Pennsylvania were Welsh. Robert Proud calls them "Ancient Britons." He states also that they bought 40,000 acres of land on the western side of the Schuylkill. The names given to the hamlets are reminiscent of Wales—Merion, Haverford, Radnor, Newtown, Gwynedd, Maldwyn, Nantymel Penypark, Pencader, Jenkintown, North Wales, Brynmawr, Wynnes Wood.

Merioneth, afterwards known as Lower Merion, the name



given by John ap Thomas, Edward Jones, and company to the 5000 acres bought of William Penn, was a rich territory. It extended from the Schuylkill, near the Falls, towards the meeting house of Merion. On an old map of Pennsylvania its boundaries were—On the north, the lands of William Sharlow and John Roberts ; on the east, the Schuylkill river ; on the south, the “ Liberty lands ” of Philadelphia ; and on the west, the properties of Charles and Thomas Lloyd, John ap John, Richard Davies, and John Bevan (Trefyrhyg). To the north-west Rowland Ellis was the proprietor. Charles Lloyd, John ap John, and Richard Davies did not remove to Pennsylvania, but they purchased land, some of the best, and disposed of it afterwards to Welsh emigrants.

### THE WELSH TRACT.

The Welsh Tract included 40,000 acres,<sup>1</sup> lying mainly in Merion, Radnor, Haverford, and part of Goshen ; roughly, it measured about  $62\frac{1}{2}$  square miles.

The “ barony,” as it was sometimes called, passed in time into the hands of German settlers, although Dr. Griffith Owen and other Welsh founders intended it to be entirely for the use “ of the descendants of the Ancient Britons,” where they could live under the old Welsh laws, and settle all quarrels according to ancient custom. Had the whole tract been taken up by Welsh settlers its history might have been different. It was entirely Welsh for some time, and according to Dr. Rufus Jones, “ their industry made the Welsh Tract the garden spot of the province, and many a family illustrious in colony and State started here.”<sup>2</sup> All Welsh people who arrived in Pennsylvania were not Quakers. Outside the barony was a group, who settled in North Wales—Church of England, Independent, and Baptist. Many of these later became Friends. John Richardson, who visited the Welsh settlers in 1702, reported “ a fine tender people, but few understanding English.” He spoke at “ Gwynedd ” through an interpreter.

In view of what we hear sometimes let it be plainly stated that the Welsh Quakers bought their land from William Penn : if servants had a free gift to encourage colonization at a later period, the first founders paid well for their plots, especially when the quit-rents are taken into consideration.

The original agreement made with several prominent

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<sup>1</sup> 30,000 acres occupied, but later settlers bought about 20,000, making 50,000 acres in all.

<sup>2</sup> *Quakers in American Colonies*, p. 443.

Welshmen<sup>1</sup> for the Welsh was afterward disregarded by the Provincial Government. In the absence of the founder the Welsh Tract was divided by a county line, run by the Government between Philadelphia and Chester counties. This division separated the Welsh settlements of Radnor and Haverford from Merion, and caused the Welsh great disappointment. The oppressive way in which quit-rents were collected among the Welsh settlers became the source of much dissatisfaction, and some hesitated not in expressing their feelings to William Penn in the matter. However, some of the ministers in the Welsh Tract were wealthy.

The landowners in the Welsh Tract had a lofty view of the status of their barony, and when they discovered that the original intentions could not be carried out were im-bittered, and said hard things about Penn and his representatives. The "patroon" idea of the Dutch was undoubtedly behind the plots of 5000 acres. Penn recommended to his surveyor that those who bought that number of acres should live together in a township, with the first purchaser as a kind of head. The Welsh settlers were deeply grieved when Radnor and Haverford were placed in Chester county, now Delaware (?). At first Chester county measured about nine square miles, and the cost of administration was too heavy unless more land were added to it. Thomas Lloyd was opposed to the splitting up of the Welsh Tract, and the measure according to the Welsh Quakers was passed through the House "slyly." The Welsh, on their part, gave offence because of their use of the Monthly Meeting as a local court for the settlement of disputes; and their unwillingness to pay two rates—one for the country, and another for the city.

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<sup>1</sup> Toward the end of 1681 the following Welshmen had conference with William Penn in London:—Dr. Griffith Owen, Dr. Edward Jones, Dr. Thomas Wynn, John ap John, Charles Lloyd, John ap Thomas, Richard Davies, Edward Prichard, and others. The first purchasers were:—Charles Lloyd and Margaret Davies, 5000 acres; John Bevan, 2000; John ap Thomas & Co., 5000; Richard ap Thomas, Whitford Garn, Flintshire, 5000; John ap John and Thomas Wynne, 5000; Richard Davies, Welshpool, 5000; Lewis David, Llanddewi Velfrey, Pem., 3000.

For Richard Davies and Company *Vide Merion in the Welsh Tract* p. 36.

John ap John paid £50 to Penn through Richard Davies, Welshpool, and his son, David Davies. John ap John sold his land to the following persons:—Thomas Taylor, 500 acres; John Roberts, millwright, of Penyclawdd, Ruabon, 500; Tryal Ryder, 400; Mary Ffoulk, 200; Richard Davies, Rhuddallt, 250; Owen Parry, 150; Total 2000 acres. He reserved 500 for himself (p. 31 et seq.). The land changed hands in some cases, for all who bought did not emigrate.

[For Welsh Land Companies *vide* Browning's *Welsh Settlements of Penna.*, pp. 33—248; Planters and Servants, p. 249.]

The Welsh had a grievance because they were not allotted the land to which they were entitled in the city, but the first purchasers had disposed of their lands, and consequently the privilege which belonged to them could not take effect in the case of other buyers.

The failure of Penn's "Susquehanna Land Co." (1690-7) proved a source of bitter disappointment to the Welsh, for many of them subscribed well towards the project, which included an interior city. Penn encountered many difficulties and losses, and when he appealed to the settlers for assistance they failed to respond as he thought they should and could. He vowed that he would sell his shirt off his back before he would trouble the settlers any more.

Some of the Welsh Quakers called Penn *diwyneb*<sup>1</sup> for promising land in the city and then refusing it. Such a transaction was understood of them,<sup>2</sup> and quite in keeping with the old Welsh custom of *gwarthal*. The failure to carry it out, unfortunately, sorely grieved them. What with quit-rents, dividing the Welsh Tract, extra rate for Philadelphia county, and the failure of "Susquehanna Land Co.," the Welsh Quakers did not cherish the ardent regard which they first had for the proprietor. They failed, may be, to appreciate the difficulties of the great undertaking, but they remained true to the principles of their faith.

Land which the Welsh bought for about fivepence an acre from Penn is now worth over five thousand dollars an acre; and at Wynnewood is worth fifteen thousand dollars an acre.

Gabriel Thomas, of London, who emigrated to Pennsylvania in the first ship, *John and Sarah*, of London<sup>3</sup> in 1681, and who lived in the State for fifteen years, published in 1698, *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and County of Pennsylvania<sup>4</sup> in America*. A brief synopsis of the work is supplied as it enables the reader to see what the province was like in the early years of the settlement. The native Indians had comely countenances, aquiline noses, resembling "Jews in their person and tincture of their complexion." Their tread was strong and they held a lofty chin. Thomas believed that they were the descendants of the ten scattered tribes.

The first settlers were Dutch, who called the province "New Netherland," and they arrived about fifty or sixty

<sup>1</sup> Literally *without face*.

<sup>2</sup> These pedigrees, which many of them took with them, prove that their fathers had been great Welsh landowners. Glenn gives a list of the M.S. Pedigrees in *Welsh Founders of Penna.*, Vol. I., 143.

<sup>3</sup> Captain Henry Smith. *John and Sarah* is the name given by Thomas, and not *John and Mary*.

<sup>4</sup> Reprinted in the *Liberty Bell Leaflets*, Philadelphia, parts I. and II.

years before the English. Trafficking in skins and furs, they improved not the agriculture of the country. The morals of the natives were degraded by contact with the Dutch, for they gave rum and strong liquor in exchange for the commodities received.

After the Dutch came Swedes and Finns, who were regarded by the first settlers as intruders. The country was taken from the Dutch in 1665 for the English, and all nationalities were treated alike. The Swedes and Finns tilled some portions of the province. The soil was naturally rich, the situation pleasant, the air salubrious, and the rivers navigable. Pennsylvania was a noble and fertile province, where strange things were discovered, such as salamander stone (asbestos), near Brandywine river, beautifully coloured.

The yield of corn was prodigious—about thirty bushels for one bushel sowed. There were commonly two harvests, first of English wheat, second of Buck or French wheat.

It was rich in building, paving, and tile stone. Iron ore was richer, and "less drossy" than in Britain. There were also limestone, loadstone, and ising-glass. Copper was there, and medicinal waters flowed not two miles from Philadelphia.

Thomas knew Wales for he observes that he had reason to believe that the country had good coal as the "runs of water" had a reddish colour, such as proceeded from coal mines in Wales. The coal industry however is of recent development.

Among wild beasts were the panthers, beavers, deer, wolves, bears, possum.

Fruit was abundant—grapes, nuts, strawberries, cranberries, apples, etc. Fine hogs lived in the woods and horses. The hogs fed upon peaches, cherries, and apples, wild fruit, and their flesh tasted "sweet."

In 1698 Philadelphia<sup>1</sup> had two thousand houses, generally three storey high. Some of the streets bore Welsh names, such as Morris Lane and Jones Lane.

The wages paid were high, especially to mechanics, blacksmiths, carpenters; and masons received from five to six shillings a day.

Lawyers and physicians did not find much scope because the country was peaceable and healthy.

The first settlers lived in caves and woods till they constructed houses. The first winter proved exceedingly severe.<sup>2</sup>

Three main railroads run through the Tract. (1). Northern Pennsylvania R.R., past Gwynedd and Bethlehem on the bank of the Lehigh. (2). Philadelphia and Reading R.R.,

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Penn's Report of Houses in 1683 in Charles H. Browning's volume *Welsh Settlement of Penna.*, p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Jones's letter, p. 312, Browning's Volume.



through Merion, on the side of the Schuylkill. (3). Central Pennsylvania R.R., through the Great Valley, past Brecknock and Carnarvon in Lancashire county. Between Lancaster and Peach Bottom may be seen the "Welsh Hills<sup>1</sup>" The above lines pass through the richest land in the State, which contains 48,000 square miles.

Cymric blood and ideals permeated the generations which followed, and the beneficent results cannot be over-praised. In the municipal government of Philadelphia, during the colonial period and afterward, the descendants of the Welsh Quakers occupied prominent positions. A large proportion of the early mayors were of Welsh blood, among whom should be mentioned Edward Roberts and Robert Wharton. The same thing applies to the jurists of the city, writers, men of science, artists, and captains of commerce.

For the first quarter of century (1682—1730) almost all the doctors were Welshmen. Dr. Thomas Wynne attended William Penn during his first voyage in the *Welcome*, when smallpox wrought such havoc among the passengers; and his great grandson, Dr. John Jones, was physician to George Washington during the Revolution. Thus Welsh doctors had charge of the "Founder" and the "Father of the American Constitution." Other physicians of note in the early history of the province were Griffith Owen, Edward Jones, Lloyd Zachary, Thomas Cadwaladr, Cadwaladr Evans, Thomas Bond, Phineas Bond, and Judah Foulke.

Thomas Chalkley, who visited the Tract in 1726, reported a religious, industrious, and growing people.<sup>2</sup>

The meeting houses of the Welsh Tract (Merion, Radnor, and Haverford) had libraries, and the books were in circulation among the members—Welsh and English volumes. If the literature appears dismal and dry to-day it furnished a healthy diet for strong souls. John Humphrey left £10 for the printing of Welsh literature. If a delinquent reformed not, his offence was written, and nailed to the door of the meeting house, but not before the case had been dealt with in Gospel order. David Powell, in 1696,<sup>3</sup> set up a paper accusing certain persons without first observing the proper

<sup>1</sup> Gough's testimony to Welsh settlers—"Especially from North Wales an hardy race of men went over, well adapted to encounter the difficulties of cultivating a new colony, having been inured to hard labour for a scanty subsistence from the barren mountains of their native country. With singular application and industry they surmounted the inconveniences generally attendant upon settling in a wilderness, soon cleared their purchased lands, and improved their respective plantations to advantage." Gough's Vol. 3., p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> *Quakers in the American Colonies*, p. 523.

<sup>3</sup> *Merion in Welsh Tract*, p. 372 (?).

method of procedure, with the result that a deputation waited upon him, and demanded evidence of repentance for his offence.

Great care was exercised that families living far away from the meetings lived worthily. These were visited once a quarter, and encouraged to honour their profession of faith.

The Welsh Tract is now a beautiful suburb of Philadelphia. The old Welsh names on the Penn. Railway recall the early traditions of Quakers.

#### MERION.

Merion in the Welsh Tract was a township, known at first by the Welsh name Meirionydd or Merioneth, and included about 5000 acres of the Tract. Glenn thinks that at the beginning it was somewhat smaller. The township was settled by North Wales men, but others removed there afterward. Lower Merion was nearest to Philadelphia, while Upper Merion approached Norristown and Phoenixville.

Robert Proud, the historian of Pennsylvania states : " that divers of those early Welsh settlers were persons of excellent and worthy character, and several of good education, family, and estate. They bought 40,000 acres of the Proprietor, and settled on the west side of Schuylkill river as made three townships, Merion, Haverford, and Radnor, and more came thither." Three other townships were formed—Newtown, Goshen, and Uwchlan, and more settlers arrived.

Compared with other settlers in the new colony the Welsh were superior in character and culture. They were of ancient and honourable stock, and experienced agriculturalists. Assiduous in their industry they made the land yield splendid crops, and built wooden and stone houses. They cultivated not only the soil, but their minds also, for they had Welsh, English, and Latin books. The social and domestic affairs of the settlers in Merion signally prospered.<sup>1</sup>

The first meeting house was made of logs. The stone building dates from 1695. The site fixed upon was central and convenient. The first clerk of the meeting, Thomas Jones, was the eldest son of John ap Thomas, Llaithgwm. Robert Owen of Fron Goch, who arrived in Merion in 1690, became a minister, and was honoured by all. He built a house for himself, and the old walls of the meeting house resembled the same workmanship.<sup>2</sup>

For a detailed account of lands occupied in Merion by the first settlers from the neighbourhoods of Bala and Dolgelley

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<sup>1</sup> *Merion in the Welsh Tract*, by T. A. Glenn, p. 187 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Merion in the Welsh Tract*, T. A. Glenn, p. 370.

we may direct the reader to *Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania*, by T. A. Glenn, [Vol. I., pp. 72-89]. Katherine Thomas, the widow of John ap Thomas, Llaithgwm, added to her estate, and Hugh Roberts became a large landowner. Dr. Edward Jones, brother-in-law of John ap Thomas, played an important part in the dividing up of Merion. He continued to live in the territory, but his son, John Jones, removed to Philadelphia. Dr. Griffith Owen resided in Merion for some time, but afterward settled in Philadelphia. His daughter, Rebecca, was a minister, and travelled much in the service of the Gospel. Dr. Griffith Owen granted land to trustees for the meeting house and burial ground at Goshen.

In a list of Friends<sup>1</sup> buried at Merion from 1705 onwards, while the names of Welsh Quakers are found, the majority are English, German, etc.

Bi-centenary services were held at Merion, 5, x., 1895, in commemoration of the first meeting house built in the Welsh Tract and the State, when a paper was read on the history of the Cause.<sup>2</sup>

Prominent Quaker ministers have preached at Merion Meeting House. Fothergill, Chalkeley, Woolman, and Richardson have interesting references to the place.

Accounts of money and material for the building of the house may be seen in *Welsh Settlement of Pennsylvania*.<sup>3</sup>

The lands of Edward Jones & Company are fully described in *Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania*.<sup>4</sup>

## RADNOR.

Richard Davies, of Welshpool, was a first purchaser of 5000 acres in the Welsh Tract, and a large portion of the property was surveyed in Radnor. The names of Richard Davies and company appear in *Merion in the Welsh Tract*, p. 36. Before July, 1682, Davies had disposed of the land to various persons who settled in the province.

The meeting house was established in 1684. John Jarman, a native of Llangurig, presented the site. His son was the first white child to be born in Radnor. Jarman died before the stone building was opened, in 1717 (d. 14, xii., 1697.).

An old Indian track became the road to the meeting house.<sup>5</sup>

Radnor situated in Delaware county.

<sup>1</sup> *Welsh Settlement of Penna*, by C. H. Browning, p. 567.

<sup>2</sup> Ditto, p. 589.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 544, 559.

<sup>4</sup> Glenn, Vol. I., p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> *Vide Friends Intelligence*, 10, xii., 1918.

## HAVERFORD.

Lewis David, of Llanddewi Velfrey, Pembrokeshire, bought 3000 acres in 1682, but did not emigrate till 1690. He gave to the Tract the name of the largest town in his native county and in Wales at that time.

The settlers were from various parts of the principality. Quite a number hailed from North Wales, as seen in the list which Glenn furnishes in *Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I.

The meeting house bears the date of 1700. The deed was executed 7, i., 1693. Friends had a meeting house there before the stone structure was erected, for records of the Monthly Meeting of Haverford<sup>1</sup> go back to 10, ii., 1689. It was the second meeting house in the State.

Among notable ministers who visited Haverford Meeting were—John Richardson, John Fothergill (1721), Thomas Chalkeley (1724), John Woolman (1758), William Reckett, Daniel Stanton, Samuel Neale, Sutcliffe, and others.

Situated in Delaware county.

## GWYNEDD.

The success of Merion led to the establishment of Gwynedd, a township of Montgomery county, in 1698, by Welsh emigrants. The township resembled a parallelogram, containing nearly 17 square miles. Two Welsh agriculturalists, William John and Thomas ap Evan, representing a company of Quakers and neighbours in Wales who had decided to remove to Pennsylvania went over to Philadelphia in 1697. Several instances are recorded of Welshmen going over to inspect and report before settlers left the old country, *e.g.* Edward Jones and Thomas Owen. Hugh Roberts, who visited Wales in 1697, had much to do with the settlement of Gwynedd, for we find many leaving Wales after his tour.

The land at Gwynedd belonged to Robert Turner, of Philadelphia. The only account of this emigration was written by Edward Foulke in Welsh, four years after his arrival. His son Samuel translated it into English.<sup>2</sup> Edward Foulke, and Eleanor, his wife, had nine children. They lived at Coedyfoel, a beautiful farm, owned by Roger Price, of Rhiwlas, Merionethshire. Foulke and his family set out to go to Pennsylvania 3, ii., 1698, and in two days reached Liverpool. They shipped with others from that port on the 17th of the

<sup>1</sup> *Friends' Intelligencer*, Vol. 60, p. 747.

<sup>2</sup> Glenn's *Welsh Founders of Penna.*, Vol. I., p. 149.



month, called in Ireland, and after a voyage of eleven weeks reached their destination.

Foulke purchased a splendid tract of land, about 700 acres, sixteen miles from Philadelphia, where he settled in the early part of November. His exhortation to his children breathes an excellent spirit.

The following list comprises the heads of families who removed with Edward Foulke in 1698 :—

Edward Foulke's family	..	11	persons
Thomas Evans'	..	10	"
Robert Evans'	..	9	"
Cadwaladr Evans'	..	4	"
Owen Evans'	..	8	"
William John's	..	8	"
John Humphreys'	..	6	"
John Hugh's	..	5	"
Hugh Griffith's	..	5	"
Total	..	66	persons

Jenkins added thirty others, including servants, making the number of the first settlers at Gwynedd about 96. In a short time the number of Welsh families in the township was thirty.

William John and Thomas ap Evan paid Robert Turner £508 current money of Pennsylvania for the township, and each settler paid £6 10s. od. for 100 acres. The purchasers were the following :—

	<i>Acres.</i>		£	s.	d.
Robert Jones	.. 500	..	32	10	0
Cadwaladr ap Evan	.. 500	..	32	10	0
Robert ap Evan	.. 500	..	32	10	0
John Hugh	.. 500	..	32	10	0
Thomas Evan	.. 700	..	45	10	0
William John	.. 2150	..	139	15	0
Owen ap Evan	.. 400	..	26	0	0
Edward Foulke	.. 400	..	26	0	0
John Humphrey	.. 400	..	26	0	0
H. & E. Griffith	.. 300	..	19	10	0
Hugh David	.. 220	..	14	6	0
Evan Hugh	.. 100	..	6	10	0
	6670		£433	11	0

The above list is not complete according to Jenkins.

The colonists adapted themselves to their strange surroundings, and preserved their Welsh characteristics, but after their death the township changed. Germans arrived, and Welsh unity disappeared. Gwynedd became varied in

population and features. The Boones, Lincolns, Hanks, and others replaced the original Welsh names.<sup>1</sup>

The chief events in connection with the settlement<sup>2</sup> during 1698—1720 were:—

1698. The township was purchased for the Welsh contingent in March. In April, the families sailed from Liverpool, reaching Philadelphia, on board the ship *Robert and Elizabeth*, in July. In November, the settlers took possession of their portions.

1700. The first meeting house of Gwynedd erected.

1701. William Penn visited the settlement.

1701—2. Re-survey of the township, and commissioners, patents for the lands.

1712. The second meeting house built. The subscription paper drafted in Welsh.<sup>3</sup> Number of subscribers, 62. Eight Welshmen appointed to superintend the building.

1714. The meeting house established. Gwynedd is situated in Montgomery county. Montgomery county was established by Act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Sept. 10, 1784.<sup>4</sup>

29, ix., 1756. [Thomas Brown, Testimony of Monthly Meeting, Philadelphia, 31, iii., 1758.] “I visited Gwynedd Meeting, where, in waiting in nothingness before God, without striving or seeking to awake my Beloved before the time, by degrees my soul became invested with that concern which the Gospel introduces, and an opening in these words: ‘I think it may conduce to my peace to stand up and engage a cause dignified with immortality, and crowned with eternal life.’ The subject arose higher and higher until my soul was transported on the mount of God, and in degree beheld His Glory. I was favoured to treat on the exalted station of the Redeemed Church, which stands in the election of grace, where my soul rejoiced with transcendent joy, adored God, and returned home in peace.”<sup>5</sup>

Many Welsh people settled in Bucks county, adjoining Gwynedd, from 1700 onwards, and not a few of them returned to Gwynedd. During 1682—1700, several were brought into Merion, Radnor, and Haverford as “servants,” relatives of planters from the neighbourhoods of Dolgelley, Bala, and Machynlleth. Those listed as “servants” were entitled to a land bounty of 50 acres, and it is somewhat difficult to trace them, or to fix the date of their arrival. About the year 1700,

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Collections of Gwynedd*, by H. M. Jenkins, p. 371—2.

<sup>2</sup> Culled from *Hist. Collections of Gwynedd*, by H. M. Jenkins.

<sup>3</sup> *do.* p. 445.

<sup>4</sup> *History of Montgomery County*, by T. W. Bean, Phil., 1884.

<sup>5</sup> MSS., Samuel Waring.

and continuing till 1725 and later, a great number emigrated from South Wales—Baptists, Presbyterians, and Church of England—from Lampeter, Llanddewi-brefi, Nantcwnlle, Carmarthen, Presteign, and various places in Pembrokeshire.<sup>1</sup> A few Quakers left Dolgelley at a later date for Pennsylvania.

#### A HOLY EXPERIMENT. (1682—1783.)

“ To lay the foundations of a Free Colony for all mankind ” was the purpose of Penn<sup>2</sup> when he established Pennsylvania. To him belongs the honour of first conceiving the idea which gave being to the “ League of Nations.” He is the father of International Peace. All nationalities were welcome in the New State, and it is pleasing to discover that the Welsh colonizers lived amicably with their German and Swedish neighbours, and also with the native Indians.

The Quaker experiment would have been more successful if the colony had been wholly independent of Crown interference. Orders from England frequently complicated matters, and the Proprietor was obliged to adapt his government sometimes to meet these orders, or to run the risk of having his charter annulled. The least difficulty was sufficient cause for certain Crown officers in the colony to protest against the charter, and to demand that Pennsylvania be made a Crown colony. The Quaker constitution appealed strongly to the Welshman’s love of Home rule, and whenever a Crown officer attempted to filch away any of the rights conferred upon Friends in the colony some of the stoutest opponents were Welsh.

The Government of Pennsylvania lay in the House of Assembly, elected by the people, with an executive Council, and a Governor. The principles whereupon the colonists based their government were chiefly, (1) A perfect democracy ; (2) full religious liberty ; (3) justice and fair dealing with natives and neighbours, doing unto others as they would be done by ; (4) no naval or military defence, for Quakers would never be aggressors. A police force would prove sufficient for any internal disturbance. (5) No oaths.

While William Penn lived the will of the people prevailed, but his heirs were of a different nature, and often out of sympathy with Quakers. The governor, not infrequently at their bidding, tried to thwart the Assembly. The public acts of the Assembly, especially in the matter of defence,

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<sup>1</sup> MSS., 763 D., 764 D., by T. A. Glenn, National Library of Wales.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Penn’s *Frame of Government*, 1682 ; and *Privileges and Concessions*, 1701. *A Quaker Experiment in Government*, by Isaac Sharpless.

were not altogether consistent with Quaker principles, but we must not forget that fear of having the charter withdrawn made it temporize sometimes in order to meet the wishes of the Crown.

Five notable Welshmen sat in the first House of Assembly. The first speaker was Thomas Wynne, of Caerwys, Flintshire, and the first law-suit in the colony was entrusted to Thomas Lloyd. When Penn returned to England in August, 1684, he left all executive responsibility with a council of five, with Thomas Lloyd as president and keeper of the great seal. Lloyd's presidency practically meant the headship of the province. This office he retained till 1688, when Captain John Blackwell became deputy-governor. Blackwell remained in power for a year, and Lloyd again assumed office as president of the council. In 1691, he was appointed deputy-governor. King William III. having taken the government of the colony from William Penn, appointed in 1693, Colonel Fletcher, governor, but the following year Penn regained his State, and appointed William Markham deputy-governor.

Lloyd grieved the Founder when he repealed his noble law of exports and imports: "Thomas Lloyd," wrote Penn, in a letter to Logan, "very unhappily for me, my family, and himself, complimented some few selfish spirits with the repeal thereof."

Thomas Lloyd rendered invaluable service as president of the countil, considering the difficulties which he encountered. His heart was in the ministry, and not in administration, for he was by nature retiring, although, when occasion demanded, he could be a stout antagonist. Office was accepted by him under pressure, and his resignation proved a great relief to him. His fame as a reformer will always endure while Pennsylvania remains. When deputy-governor, disorderly characters were accustomed to frequent the city of Philadelphia. These were sought after by Lloyd personally, to whom he gave instruction and religious advice, and when they discovered that the kindly preacher was none other than the deputy-governor of the State the noisy bouts in Philadelphia immediately ceased, and under his control the city became quiet and respectful. Penn's deputy-governors with the exception of Thomas Lloyd were not Quakers. This was due to the difficulty experienced in regard to the orders received from the English monarch. The oath was continually an insuperable barrier. Worthy Quakers were deprived of office in their own province because they refused the oath which had to be tendered.

Thomas Lloyd was a great statesman, and under his



governorship the Quakers acquired proficiency in politics. He was a fervent champion of democratic rights, and would not yield to his enemies. His belief in freedom sometimes exceeded even that of the Founder. After Penn's first visit<sup>1</sup> Lloyd succeeded in maintaining some amount of concord between the executive and the legislature, despite many bickerings and minor misunderstandings.

Blackwell, an old soldier,—son-in-law of General Lambert, Cromwell's officer—who became deputy-governor in 1688, was a man of excellent intentions, but entirely devoid of tact. He believed that Penn had given him authority to rule the province, and being a soldier we can imagine what that meant to the Quakers. Blackwell undertook to revise the council, at that time elected by the people, but he had not reckoned with the sturdy Welshman, the loyal supporter of the people's rights. Lloyd, and other Quaker opponents would not be put down, so the attempt to govern the State by a militarist came to a sudden end. Thomas Lloyd succeeded Blackwell, and harmony was secured for a time. The lower counties were not of the same Quaker faith, and these did not work harmoniously with the Quakers. Religious schism, fomented and led by George Keith, developed into political opposition to the executive, and caused Thomas Lloyd untold sorrow and trouble. Colonel Quarry, who had been appointed by the Crown to take charge of Admiralty cases, was not in sympathy with Quaker views regarding war and oaths, and therefore sought to bring the government of Pennsylvania into disfavour in London. Colonel Quarry's motive, without doubt, was to have the charter cancelled, so that the Quaker State might become a Crown colony. The Assembly was divided by a desire to punish members for lack of proper regard, and by an effort to wrest power from the council and the governor. The members were riotous with the liberty which had been bestowed upon them, and to which they were unaccustomed, at any rate that was Penn's complaint. About this time, upon a Jacobite charge, Penn was cast into prison in England, and his province was taken away from him by the King. Governor Fletcher, of New York State, became governor of Pennsylvania, which office he held for a year and seven months. Fletcher declared that the old laws were not operative any longer: "These laws, and that model of government, is dissolved, and at an end. The King's power and Mr. Penn's must not come in

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<sup>1</sup> Before leaving, Penn desired a certificate, touching his demeanour in the Province. This was signed by Thomas Lloyd and fifteen others in the name of the meeting at Philadelphia, 5, viii., 1684.

the scales together." Whereupon Thomas Lloyd and other Quakers refused to take office under Fletcher, and insisted upon their own original patent. Upon the restoration of the province to Penn, in 1694, Markham became deputy-governor, and remained in office till Penn's second visit in 1699—1700. Markham persevered and did his utmost, but could not prevent the growing desire of the Assembly under the able leadership of another Welshman, David Lloyd. In 1696 the Assembly obtained a charter for originating and vetoing bills, whereby the superior council was made into a co-ordinate body. Its power was further curtailed in 1701, when the power of law-making was denied unto it. Money which the governor needed was supplied on condition that the necessary concessions were granted. The followers of George Keith, the schismatic, associated themselves, sometimes with David Lloyd and the Democrats, and sometimes with Quarry and the Ecclesiastical party. While the leaders were absorbed in the contentious affairs of State the mass of Welsh farmers were busy cultivating their lands, building homesteads, attending their meetings, and living in brotherly love.

Penn's second visit to the colony lasted for two years, and his presence did much to restore harmony, and to compose the difference of opinion which existed. He noticed the tendency to license with displeasure, and with sorrow accepted the inevitable. Conferences with the Council and Assembly occupied his time, also visits to the Indian chiefs, and religious services, all through the three upper counties. Of Penn's unwritten law with the Indians Voltaire said: "It is the *only* law that was kept."

When Penn landed in 1700, after a tempestuous voyage of three months, the colony was ravaged by yellow fever, which caused an enormous number of deaths. From six to ten people died daily, and the whole colony was full of mourning. He spent some time at the Welsh settlement of Merion and Haverford, and there took services. His attention was directed to the slave-trade in the colony about this time, for when it was founded many negroes were introduced into the country. We do not find that these were cruelly treated in Pennsylvania, but they were bought and sold as chattel, and Penn lifted his voice against the practice. The rights of the black race were gradually recognized by the Quakers, and in 1755 the Society began to discipline those who had slaves. In 1761, the Society declared that Quakers owning slaves would be expelled; and two years later it was resolved that anyone assisting in such a wicked traffic of souls would be disowned. By the year 1780 Quakers

were entirely free from the terrible slave trade. Had other people followed the example of the Quakers in all probability there would never have been an American Civil War.

According to Thomas Story, the first to preach Christ to the negroes was William Ellis, a native of Dolgelley.

After Penn's departure<sup>1</sup> three political parties sprang up. (1) The Proprietor's party. We may call it by this name because it was devoted to proprietary interests. The more well-to-do Quakers of Philadelphia, and the more highly educated, belonged to this party. James Logan was the leader. (2) The People's party. This consisted chiefly of country Quakers, and of Germans, and other liberty-loving men. The leader of the popular party was David Lloyd. (3) Non-Quaker party. This party was not strong either in the Council, or in the Assembly, but its opposition to Quakerism was relentless. Its aim was to convert the State into a Crown colony, and to establish a State church. The feeling between Churchmen and Quakers was quite bitter. Thus, in *Papers relating to the Church in Pennsylvania*<sup>2</sup> in 1700, we read: "I hope your Grace being at the helm will be mindful of us at the stern, when providence shall think to bless us with a qualified government under his Royal Majesty, then Christianity will flourish in this province, Quakerism will be rooted out, and the Church will be more than conqueror." This desire, on the part of Episcopalians to establish a State church, strengthened the political opposition of Quakers. The severity of the feeling was assuaged as time went on, for James Pemberton lamented the growth of Presbyterians at the cost of Episcopalians. In pre-revolutionary times the Scotch and Irish Presbyterians were the greatest political opponents of the Quakers in Pennsylvania. When Quakers left the Society they generally joined the Church, and not any of the other sects. "The dissenting teachers, though ten to one of us," wrote George Ross, a Church of England missionary, in 1716, "do not count one Quaker to ten that come over to us."

How interesting to pursue the "Holy Experiment," but we must needs confine ourselves to the part played by Welsh men.

David Lloyd commands special attention as champion of the people's rights. Dr. Rufus Jones calls him the first Pennsylvanian "Boss." He was a far-seeing politician, and a constant opponent of the aristocratic tendencies of the Proprietary party to increase its prerogatives. Logan,

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<sup>1</sup> Penn's certificate, in 1701, was signed, among others, by Dr. Griffith Owen.

<sup>2</sup> p. 16.

Norris, Proud, and others have painted him in rather dark colours, but we must not forget their angle of vision. If contentious at times, there can be no doubt about the honesty of his purpose, and his exemplary life in private. People's rights were with him a sacred heritage, and woe to the man who endeavoured to tamper with them. Intense, unbending, and dogmatic at first, he mellowed considerably toward the end. As long as he remained in the Assembly Lloyd was the loyal and trusted leader of the people. The effects of his noble advocacy of the principles of freedom were not immediately seen, but his attachment to these principles made the American constitution possible, and Pennsylvania acquired the name of a liberty-loving State. He lived more for the future than any statesman of his time. He had grievances against William Penn, and did not hesitate to give expression to his opposition in word and deed. These were exaggerated by him according to Dr. Rufus Jones. A formal protest was sent by Lloyd and his party to England, in 1704, against Penn, because he had not procured relief from oaths, which deprived so many Quakers from government service.

Reviewing the life of David Lloyd<sup>1</sup> we are impressed by his tireless devotion to the principles of Quakerism in the affairs of government. He firmly believed that the government of Pennsylvania should remain Quaker according to the original patent. His knowledge of law served to make him a leader and pioneer in the country and legislature.

He was appointed clerk of the County Court at Philadelphia, then deputy to the Master of the Rolls, and clerk of the Provincial Court. Governor Blackwell tried to obtain possession of the Records from him but Lloyd refused to hand over that which had been entrusted to his keeping. In 1689, he was clerk of the Assembly, and in 1694, was returned as a member of the Assembly. For four years he served as member of the Provincial Council, and it was then that his strong attachment to the people's cause became manifest. Afterward, he was the recognized leader. He was chiefly instrumental in securing from Governor Markham the new charter of privileges in 1696. Several legislative schemes for the improvement and security of the

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<sup>1</sup> He was born in the parish of Manavon, Montgomeryshire, North Wales, in 1656. After receiving a legal training William Penn sent him over to Pennsylvania as Attorney-General of the province, in 1686. His affable manner, energy, and ability gained for him the esteem of all classes, and his promotion was rapid to offices of great trust and profit. He lived at Philadelphia until 1710, and afterward at Chester, Pa. Died in 1731.



province emanated from him. In 1703, he became Deputy-Judge and advocate to the Admiralty. For several years he was feared and disliked by Logan and the Proprietary party, because of his outspokenness in defence of popular rights. But Logan and he became friendlier later. Lloyd was speaker of the Assembly on many occasions. Schemes of judicial reform occupied his mind constantly. Almost all Court laws of any importance, up to the time of his death, were either penned by him or framed with his advice. The basis of his legal reforms were the old Welsh laws, in which he was an expert scholar. He was appointed Chief Justice of the province in 1718.

Robert Proud confessed he had political talents, but they tended rather to *divide* than unite. James Logan declared that he "was a good lawyer and of sound judgement, but extremely pertinacious, and somewhat revengeful." In the opinion of these historians he suffered from too much confidence in his own wisdom, and had a passionate temper. Logan had cause to know this more than once. The persistent Welshman made Logan say unkind things even about Quakers. In the controversy about oaths in 1706, which Lloyd abominated, some Quakers objected to the words, "In the name of Almighty God" as something very near an oath, but Logan maintained that a greater security was needed in Pennsylvania—although he admitted the phrase to be objectionable—"where such a rotten and insensible generation shelter themselves under the name<sup>1</sup> [of Quakers.]" The first thirty years of the province were full of trouble, and Lloyd weathered many a storm, but his last years were very peaceful. Old hatreds were forgotten, and he enjoyed the respect of the colonists, whose best interests he had served. In order to advance the province he co-operated with those who had been bitter foes.

He has a place apart among American Jurists; and his volumes, *A Vindication of the Legislative Powers*, (Philadelphia, 1725) and *A Defence of the Legislative Constitution of the Province of Pennsylvania*, reveal his attitude toward democratic government.

Lloyd was a joint reviser—and translator of Ellis Pugh's Welsh book, *Annerch i'r Cymru*—with Rowland Ellis, which, in its English garb, is called *A Salutation to the Britons* (1727). He had collected material for a *History of Pennsylvania*, but the project never matured. As a mark of regard for him and his devotion to liberty the Rev. Abel Morgan dedicated his Welsh book, *Cyd-gordiad yr Ysgrythyrau* (1730) to the chief justice, David Lloyd.

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<sup>1</sup> *Penn and Logan Correspondence*, Vol. II., p. 187.

He was opposed to the policy of Governor John Evans, and succeeded in persuading the Assembly to ask Penn for his withdrawal. This triumph of the Popular party over the Proprietary party enhanced the influence of David Lloyd in the State.<sup>1</sup> Logan, who had supported Evans, was compelled to admit that Lloyd was right. Evans made several attempts to establish a Militia in Pennsylvania, but the Assembly refused to give its sanction, therefore his efforts to raise volunteers proved abortive.

Penn made John Evans deputy-governor in February, 1704, and described him as "an honest and discreet young man," but his discreetness was conspicuous by its absence. He was not a Quaker; and a more unsuitable man to govern a colony of Quakers could not be found, for he was full of the military spirit. A colonial scheme of defence, which he favoured and advocated, roused the opposition of the Quakers. Evans rode through Philadelphia with a drawn sword, and asked every man to arm, because the French Fleet was in the Delaware. This false alarm was a ruse to obtain measures opposed to Quaker views. Friends, heedless of his display, attended their week-day service. William Penn, junior, a degenerate youth, joined Evans in carousals in the lower quarters of the city, and in Indian towns. Such extravagances shocked the morality of all self-respecting citizens. Evans imposed a fine for lack of respect upon an Assembly-member, who was a minister. With contempt for such persecution the angry Quaker said: "He is but a boy. We'll kick him out." That term "boy" explains Evans, for he was immature and inexperienced.

Although the Founder had great wisdom and judgment, the men he selected for governors were not the best. His expectations of them were not realized.<sup>1</sup>

Evans managed to get the Delaware authorities to build a fort, and to impose a tax on the commerce of Philadelphia, a glaring infringement of the charter. Three Quakers of the Proprietary party,<sup>2</sup> in spite of the challenge from the fort guns, ran their boat past, and carried the commander

<sup>1</sup> "He carries so fair with our weak country people, and those that long looked upon him to be the champion of Friends' Cause in government matters in former times, that there is no possessing them." *Logan and Penn Correspondence*, Vol. II., p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> The following were Deputy Governors after Penn's second visit:—Andrew Hamilton, 1701; John Evans, 1703; Charles Gookin, 1709; William Keith, 1717; Patrick Gordon, 1726; George Thomas, 1738; James Hamilton, 1748; Robert Hunter Morris, 1759; William Denny, 1756; James Hamilton, 1759.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, and Samuel Preston.

who pursued them to Salem, New Jersey. Thus Evans's "powder money" levy was destroyed.

The Assembly advised Penn, so also did Logan, to recall Evans in 1709. Evans, undoubtedly, had learning and refinement, but as governor of a Quaker colony his failure was deplorable. His indiscreet actions served to restore David Lloyd's majority for some years. In 1705, Lloyd lost his seat in the county election, but was returned by the city of Philadelphia. His party was greatly reduced at the above election, and he lost the speakership. For a time he was out of public life, but when he returned a more gracious spirit characterized him.

Charles Gookin succeeded Evans, a gentleman of rather difficult disposition, who did not fit in with his Council, or the Assembly, but he offended the Quakers less than his predecessor.

The Queen, in 1709, commanded the colonies to furnish a quota of men, at their own expense, for an invading army into Canada. Pennsylvania was to supply a contingent of one-hundred and fifty men. Governor Gookin advised that the Assembly should vote £4000 in *lieu* of military service, having respect unto the Quaker conscience. With this money men could be procured, whose principles did not forbid the use of arms.

The speaker, David Lloyd, liked not this evasion, and advised that a Bill of Grievances be sent to the English Queen. After some consultation the Assembly agreed to offer £500 for the support of her government. Gookin refused to add his signature because the sum was insufficient. Harvest was nigh at the time, so the House rose, and the matter was left in abeyance till its next meeting, on the 15th August. Gookin declared that the Queen had no need of £500, but being a religious woman she might devote it to the clergy sent from England to propagate the Gospel in Pennsylvania. This surprised the Quakers, for it seemed a worse use than war. However, by a majority of one, the money was voted.

Gookin complained that the Quakers were entirely governed by the Speaker. Whenever the peace principles of the Assembly were assailed by the English Government, as for instance in 1701, when the Assembly was asked to vote £350 for the purpose of building forts on the frontier of New York, for general defence, and again, in 1709 and 1711, Lloyd protested, and was a Passive Resister. He was the mouthpiece of Quakers on these occasions.

As other people settled in the province, Quakers by degrees lost their power in the Assembly. However, they continued to oppose the pretensions of the Proprietors, and favoured

grants to the Indians ; they insisted upon taxing the large proprietary estates, like other estates, and proclaimed their independence of Royal orders when they violated their charter.

Quaker settlers from Wales had much intercourse with the Indians, whom they treated, not as " hands " but " souls." The Indians gave William Penn the name of ONAS, because they trusted and respected him, for he always acted justly toward them. In this respect the Welsh Quakers in the State were " true sons of Onas." They endeavoured to evangelize them.

Welshmen refused to take part in the Revolutionary War and when the charter was set aside they joined in the declaration of neutrality. They sought neither protection within the British lines nor joined the American army. They were neither Tories nor Revolutionists. Welsh Quakers became very prosperous during the first seventy-five years of Pennsylvania, but the children of the first settlers lost their parents' tongue and virility. They were proud, nevertheless, of their ancient origin, but were more concerned with the affairs of the world than their illustrious forbears. Other peoples were attracted into the State by the conditions of life which obtained there ; and at the end of the third quarter of the first century of occupation the population of Pennsylvania approached 200,000, of whom 25,000 resided in Philadelphia. If the descendants of Welsh Quakers lost their language through contact with English, they preserved the old passion for liberty, and their ancient names are still prominent in the country.

Seeing that Pennsylvania prospered so amazingly we naturally enquire whether the Founder benefited by his bold adventure. The answer is found in a long and pathetic letter, which he sent to Pennsylvania from London, under date of 29<sup>th</sup> 4<sup>mo</sup>, 1710.

" My dear old Friends,

It is a mournful consideration and the cause of deep affliction to me, that I am forced by the oppressions and disappointments which have fallen to my share in this life, to speak of the people of that province in a language I once hoped I should never have had occasion to use. But the many troubles and oppositions that I have met with from thence oblige me in plainness and freedom to expostulate with you concerning the causes of them, etc."

He expatiated upon the sorrows the colony had caused him, the divisions and contentions which had sprung up there. He had been treated not as a Friend, but an enemy.



His reputation had been attacked, and papers complaining of him had been sent to England. Insinuations of injustice, attempts upon his estate for the support of the State government grieved him sorely. Strangers to oppression, as found in other countries, Quakers spent their fury on mere trifles. Any real oppression he was prepared to remedy, as they knew well. While the colonists waxed rich, and lived in peace and comfort, he, the Founder, was steeped in grief, trouble, and poverty.

Owing to debts incurred in support of his colony, the fraud of a steward, and the failure of his deputy and a worthless son, Penn was heavily involved. With sorrow we read of his condition in the later years of his life. This great benefactor of mankind, owing to the dishonesty of an agent, was imprisoned for debt. His death occurred soon after his release in 1718.

The laws of Pennsylvania were frequently subjected to unjust treatment in England. The specialist alone can know what opposition they met with in the old country. Penn, Thomas Lloyd, and David Lloyd, were terribly handicapped in their humane intentions. In *The Statutes at large of Pennsylvania*,<sup>1</sup> published by the State, we have extracts from the records in London which reveal how Penn's powers were limited.

The attempt to civilize the Indians by the Quakers proved successful, and many of the Welsh settlers rendered assistance. One who visited the Seneca Indians, in 1806, then living near the Alleghany and Cattaraugus rivers, reported that they were greatly improved, more devoted to home and agriculture. They raised wheat, oats, buck-wheat, potatoes, turnips, beans, squashes, pumpkins, cucumbers, and melons, and had good horses and stocks of cattle and hogs. They built their own houses, and shewed remarkable ingenuity. Females worked less in the open, but more in their homes. Before the advent of Friends among them the women did all the hard work. Within a short space of time women learnt how to make soap, to spin, and knit, and the effect was cleanliness and comfort. In order to teach the Indians the arts of civil life the Welsh settlers protested against rum-selling, and were much concerned about having the Gospel preached to them. The improvement in the life and manners of the Indians was attributable chiefly to the women Friends, who toiled among them. In 1807, the President of the United States encouraged the undertaking, and a superintendent and eight assistants were appointed from the Society of

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. II., 1896.

Friends to reside among the Indians with suitable salaries ; and an allowance for travelling expenses, and for procuring tools. Toward this the sum of 10,000 dollars was allotted. The doctrine of Universal Divine Light appealed to the Indians for they believed in the indwelling of the Great Spirit. The meeting house on the frontiers of Catawissa, where Moses Roberts ministered to Friends and Indians, was a monument to Welsh missionary zeal.

Welsh immigrants lived amicably with their German neighbours from the beginning. Thomas Lloyd and Francis Daniel Pastorius landed in Pennsylvania from the same ship on 23 July, 1683, having had a narrow escape from being captured by a Turkish pirate. As Lloyd was the recognized leader of the Welsh, so was Pastorius the leader of the Germans. Both were Latin scholars, and their conversation was carried on in that language. Pastorius and his band were Mennonites, but they joined with the Friends in all good works, for they were at one on such subjects as war, oaths, simplicity of dress and living. Being content with their free condition they allowed themselves to be governed by the Quakers, and for two generations there were no perceptible changes in their habits of life or thought. Thomas Lloyd and David Lloyd could always reckon upon the loyal support of the Mennonites. Pastorius, Thomas Lloyd, and two hundred Friends signed a declaration in 1692, against George Keith, the Scotsman, who caused a division among the members of the Society. The Mennonites built a meeting house in Germantown in 1770. Germantown like other settlements suffered greatly during the Revolutionary War in 1777. Thousands of Germans removed to Pennsylvania between 1682—1749—Mennonites, Dunkards, Schwenkfelders, Moravians, and Lutheran Protestants. The Lutherans far outnumbered the other German sects during the years before the Revolution.

The Quakers in Pennsylvania did not cherish exalted views on the subject of education. With the exception of Penn, Thomas Lloyd, David Lloyd, James Logan, and a few others, the scholastic attainments of public men were not high, and what they had not received themselves was in no wise pressed upon others. The mass were ordinary folk, of ordinary education, and therefore set no great stress upon higher education. Nevertheless, many of the Welsh settlers were different in their attitude toward the need for education. The Quaker ministry did not depend on academic training, hence the academy was neglected. The classics were banned, and modern languages were not encouraged, being frivolous.

Art and music had no place in their life, consequently education was most restricted in its scope. Many were splendid mathematicians and naturalists, particularly botanists, but they were self-taught. The children of the second and third generations were severely curtailed in their training. The medical profession alone required high training, and the doctors were really cultured. It is strange to record that the first college in Pennsylvania was not founded till 1856. Let us, however, describe the nature of education enforced by the first laws of the State, lest any be tempted to think that it was left an open question. We know what lofty views William Penn entertained of liberal education. Parsimony in education with him was synonymous with loss and false economy. Money spent upon intellectual training was the best investment. If Quakers in Pennsylvania lacked higher education, they took care that the children had a sound moral and religious training, with the result that crime and pauperism occurred but seldom. The law stipulated that "to the end that the poor as well as the rich may be instructed in good and commendable learning, which is to be preferred before wealth, be it enacted that all persons . . . having children . . . shall cause such to be instructed in reading and writing, so that they may be able to read the Scriptures, and to write by the time they attain to twelve years of age, and that, then, they be taught some useful trade or skill." Failure to secure this meant a fine of £5. In *Colonial Records* we have an interesting account of money to be paid Enoch Flower, whom the Governor and Council engaged to teach English—reading, writing, and arithmetic.<sup>1</sup>

The present "William Penn Charter School" was founded in 1697 as a "Public School," or Grammar School, where Latin formed one of the subjects. It was on the lines of an English Grammar School, and several branches were opened in Philadelphia, with free scholarships for poor scholars. The Yearly Meeting, in 1697, declared that meetings for the education of the young were settled in most counties with three exceptions, none of which were in Pennsylvania. The schools were not free, but no poor child was refused education. Quakers, therefore, were as free from total ignorance as they were from total poverty. Their object was to give a sound foundation for character. This was based upon Bible teaching. They taught not only letters but cultivated conscience in the child.

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<sup>1</sup> "To read English, per quarter 4/-; reading and writing, per quarter, 6/-; casting up accounts, 8/- . Full board and school, £10 per annum."

The descendants of the Welsh Quakers in Pennsylvania were neutral during the Revolutionary War, although one or two shewed sympathy with the British, for which crime capital punishment was meted to them. When the sons and grandson of William Penn sought through their governors to over-ride the expressed wishes of the Assembly the Welsh Quakers were fiercely opposed to such an infringement of the charter of 1701. Some of them went so far as to advocate that the charter had better be cancelled rather than surrender to the unjust claims of the Proprietors, and at one time it seemed as though the Assembly would demand this, but it never took effect. While the Welsh Quakers harmonized well with Mennonites, they were opposed to the Presbyterians who favoured war. As far as we have been able to find they lived on amicable terms with the Indians, disliked slavery, and were excellent colonizers. They placed their religion before every other consideration.

Late in the year 1776, the war, which had been waged chiefly in New England and New York, drew near unto Philadelphia. The sick of Washington's army were brought into the city, half clad, and were housed in the vacated residences. Accounts of the barbarities of the British were spread in order to stir up resistance. The Assembly, which was then sitting in Philadelphia, removed to Baltimore.

On the 26 Sept., 1777, the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia decided that "in order to preserve as much as possible peace and good order on this solemn occasion it is proposed to adjourn the Monthly Meeting"—the King's army on that day was about entering the city. Quakers in the city and the country had to bear the sorrows of war. The majority of them had resolved to be neutral. A small number of men in Philadelphia had openly advocated the cause of the King. The Executive of the State of Pennsylvania ordered that a search be made in the houses of the inhabitants of the city who sympathized with the American side, for firearms, swords, bayonets, etc. About forty people were arrested, twenty of whom were men of irreproachable character. These were arrested more particularly for the purpose of striking terror into those who sympathized with Britain. Quaker documents were seized, and a minute, which recorded that "Washington lays in Pennsylvania, about twelve miles from Coryell's Ferry. Sullivan lays about six miles north of Morristown, with about 2,000 men."



## SPANKTOWN YEARLY MEETING.

This Yearly Meeting was proved to be mythical and not Quaker at all, nevertheless, the authorities believed that the prisoners had British sympathies. Credence was given by many to the report, and the result was an anti-Quaker feeling, and a belief that every Quaker gathering was a meeting for dark plots and treasonable correspondence. Protests were made to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, by whose order the arrest had been made, stating that freemen were not subject to such an arbitrary imprisonment, and that the proceeding struck at the liberties of the citizens of Pennsylvania. The protests, however, were of none effect, and the prisoners addressed the Congress, declaring their absolute innocence of any treasonable action, and affirming their unalterable conviction that all wars were unchristian, and their readiness to suffer for their testimony. The enemies of the Quakers were in power, and they retaliated by banishing for eight months into Virginia twenty of the best men in Philadelphia, seventeen of whom were Friends. One of the number was Welsh, Owen Jones, junior, He went into exile in the company of such men as John Pemberton, Thomas Wharton, and Thomas Miers. Two of the twenty died in Virginia—Thomas Gilpin and John Hunt.

The Yearly Meeting published an address to defend the honour of the Quakers banished, wherein they denied any knowledge of Spanktown. At last Congress was convinced that the Quakers did not seek to aid the cause of the King in their meetings, and returned all the papers they had seized which belonged to them. The exiled Friends were released, which was an acknowledgement that the charges were wrong, and General Washington allowed them to pass through his lines to their homes in the city.

A Quaker minister, Moses Roberts, had settled with a small body of fellow-workers on the frontier at Catawissa, where they built a meeting house. Ravages were frequent,<sup>1</sup> and their neighbours fled, but Roberts and his companions remained, unarmed and unmolested by the Red Indians. This devoted minister and other leaders of the meeting were arrested one Sabbath morning on their way to worship, and were put into prison without trial or accusation, and were informed that they could only be liberated on payment of a fine of £10,000. Their families were driven out of their homes by armed men two months afterward, and their property was seized. It was supposed that they gave

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide History of Welsh*, '76, by Dr. Alex. Jones, New York.

information to the Indians because they went unmolested. These noble men were not allowed a trial.

Worse than this was the case of John Roberts, of Mill Creek, Lower Merion Township, Montgomery county, about ten miles from the city of Philadelphia. Roberts was a benevolent man, upright in character, and about sixty years of age. He came of a good family, and was highly respected in the Society. When his friends were banished to Virginia he was righteously indignant; added to this was an avowed British sympathy. Roberts offered to conduct a body of troops under the command of Howe to intercept the convoy, and thus liberate the prisoners. His neighbours disliked his attitude, and fearing lest he should be attacked he sought safety within the British lines. Afterward he regretted this deviation from his professed principles. He was made an unwilling guide to foraging parties among the farms of the neighbourhood, but his motive was to protect those who could not afford to lose their property. His enemies, however, declared that he was a willing servant of the British army, pointing out the homes of those who favoured the cause of the American army. John Roberts and another, Abraham Carlisle, a carpenter, of Philadelphia, were tried before Chief Justice Mc. Kean, and sentenced to death on the charge of high treason. Both men had large families, and although guilty technically, the people were greatly moved by their condemnation to death, believing that they were punished in revenge, and less blameworthy than many others. Petitions for reprieve were sent to the Executive Council signed by leading Americans in the religious, military, and civil life. Close upon one thousand signatures were added to the appeal for Roberts, and about four hundred for Carlisle. However, these urgent petitions were of no avail, and the two Friends in an open conveyance, with their coffins before them, and ropes about their necks, were driven to the place of execution.

The Meeting for Sufferings considered the tragic affair (4<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>mo</sup>, 1779), and in the report we read: "John Roberts, at one time with earnestness, expressed that he had gone beyond the line, and seen his deviation, and if his life was spared he should spend it differently."

William Ffloyd (1734—1821), a descendant of Richard Ffloyd, settler in 1682, was member of the Congress that sat in Philadelphia, 5 Sept., 1775 and in 1778. After the war he was homeless for seven years. The town Ffloyd was called after him.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Notable Welshmen*, p. 148, by Rev. T. Mardy Rees.

Officially, Friends were neutral during the Revolutionary war, but, individually, they could not help sympathizing silently with one side or the other. About four hundred accepted positions under the Revolutionary Government, and forfeited their birth-right among Friends as a consequence; also the score of men who openly defended the British were disowned. Neutrality for conscience sake was the decision of the Yearly Meeting in regard to the war, and those who took part either way suffered, as already illustrated.

Among eminent Quakers who rendered service to the United States we may mention Jonathan Evans, Senator, who, in 1817, introduced a fierce debate in Congress about the evils of the remnants of slave-trade. As clerk of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Evans penned a quiet and moderate, but firm letter, in 1797, which was addressed "To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled," on the subject of slavery. In this touching memorial he states that "among other investigations the oppressed state of our brethren of the African race has been brought into view, and particularly the circumstances of one hundred and thirty-four in North Carolina, and many others, whose cases have not so fully come to our knowledge, who were set free by members of our religious Society, and again reduced to cruel bondage, under the authority of existing or retrospective laws. Husbands, wives, and children separated one from another, which we apprehend to be an abominable tragedy; and with other acts of a similar nature practised in other states has a tendency to bring down the judgment of a righteous God upon our land." Congress in 1774 had solemnly decreed that slaves would not be imported nor purchased after the 1st of December in that year, and Evans, on behalf of the Society, demanded that this law should be adhered to. "National evils," he wrote, "produce national judgments." The continual protests of Quakers against slavery in the end succeeded in its complete abolition.

Evan Lewis started a movement, which, in 1833, resulted in the first national anti-slavery convention in Philadelphia.

Jonathan Roberts (1771—1854), who married out of the Society, was a native of Montgomery county, Pa., born in 1771. In 1798, he was Assembly-man, and State Senator in 1807. In 1814, he was elected United States Senator. President Harrison appointed him Collector of the Port of Philadelphia. Died in 1854. His ability and integrity lifted him to a high level of national service.

Another notable Quaker of Montgomery county was Cadwaladr Evans (b. 1762). In 1790 he was returned to

the Legislature, where he served twelve years, part of which he was Speaker of the House. Afterward he removed to Philadelphia, and became Director of the Second Bank of the United States. Evans first made his name as a surveyor. A canal along the Schuylkill was strongly advocated by him, and he became the first President of the Company. In 1840, Evans helped to make William H. Harrison President of America.

Eli K. Price (d. 1884), of Philadelphia, was one of the ablest estate lawyers that lived in the State. He was born in Chester county. In 1851, he was elected to the State Senate, where he secured the consolidation of the city of Philadelphia with the outlying borough. The act for this was drafted by Price. Died at the age of 88 in 1884. *Law of Limitations and Liens against Real Estate* (1851), and other important works issued from his pen.<sup>1</sup>

The medical profession attracted many able Quakers of Welsh extraction. Dr. John Jones was physician to Washington and Franklin; Thomas Chalkley James, Professor of Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, was the author of valuable medical treatises; Samuel Powell Griffiths was Professor at the first Medical School of America. Charles Humphreys and Richard Thomas (1794—1800) were appointed members of the Continental Congress.

#### REBECCA JONES (1739—1817).

Her parents were natives of Merionethshire, who had emigrated to America when young. William and Mary Jones were members of the Church of England. Rebecca was born in Philadelphia, 8 Sept., 1739. Her father, a coaster, died in her infancy, and the mother opened a day school in order to maintain herself and two children. Rebecca was wont to play with Quaker children, and was permitted to attend their services. Her conversion to Quakerism took place under the ministry of Catherine Payton, and another sister, who visited Philadelphia. After the death of her mother, in September, 1761, Rebecca had charge of the day school, and was assisted by Hannah Cathrall. She became an exemplary Quaker, and exercised a most glorious influence. Her services were constantly sought to make agreements, wills, and bills. Her school regulations were models of propriety, and she trained fine citizens. The meeting saw that she was qualified for the

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<sup>1</sup> *Memoir*, by James T. Rothrock, 1886; *Notable Welshmen*, by Rev Mardy Rees, p. 377.



ministry, and invited her to exercise her gifts. On the 27 January, 1787, the Monthly Meeting of North Philadelphia gave her a letter of recommendation on her visit to the old country. This was signed by 112 Quakers, of whom 20 were Welsh. She arrived in London the day before the Yearly Meeting, and attended the services. Before her advent women were not allowed to participate in the special, disciplinary, and preparatory meetings of the fraternity. When the matter was brought forward she pleaded so effectively for an extension of this right that the motion was adopted.

During her sojourn in Britain she visited every place of importance, and was welcome everywhere as an attractive preacher. She travelled 20,490 miles during her stay of four and a half years in Britain, and held 1,598 meetings. Her host in London was J. Gurney Bevan, a descendant of Bevan, of Trefyrhyg, near Llantrisant, one of the earliest Quakers in Glamorganshire. She was an enthusiastic advocate of the abolition of slavery, and when Philadelphia said that they must have slaves or be without sugar, Rebecca Jones started a crusade against using sugar until it was produced by free labour. In this way she destroyed such a poor excuse.

In 1795, she laboured heroically for the welfare of the Indians, and succeeded in getting the Yearly Meeting to establish a mission for that purpose, and Quakers in America and Britain subscribed toward the funds.

During the visitation of the Yellow Fever, in 1793, Rebecca Jones nursed the sick, and comforted the mourners, and spared herself in no way till she was smitten herself; when given up for dead, she rallied in a miraculous manner. Toward the end of her life she suffered much pain, and was almost blind. Her services to Quakerism and humanity cannot be over-praised. For upwards of fifty years Rebecca Jones was a prominent leader and became a mother beloved in Israel. Her death occurred 10 March, 1817, and her remains were interred in the Mulberry Street Graveyard.<sup>1</sup>

The following came into close contact with Quakers:—

The Rev. Evan Evans, D.D., Rector of Philadelphia (d. 1721), was appointed second rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, in 1700, by Dr. Compton, Bishop of London. Dr. Evans, a Welshman, was a popular preacher, and an ardent missionary. Beside holding the living of Christ Church, he was missionary at Oxford and Radnor, Pa., He

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<sup>1</sup> *Memorial of Rebecca Jones*, by J. W. Allinson.

claimed to have baptized 800 persons, of whom 500 had been Friends.<sup>1</sup>

The Rev. Abel Morgan, Baptist Minister (1673—1722), who emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1711, had great regard for Quakers. He compiled a "concordance of the Welsh Bible," which was published by his brother, Rev. Enoch Morgan (1676—1740), and others, in 1730, at Philadelphia, and dedicated it to the eminent jurist, David Lloyd, Quaker. Enoch Morgan became third pastor of the "Welsh Tract," about 1701. Abel Morgan was buried at Philadelphia, and Enoch, in Delaware.<sup>2</sup>

The Rev. Benjamin Griffiths (1688—1768), who arrived in Pennsylvania in 1710, and began to preach in Montgomery, 1722, and ordained in 1727 as a Baptist Minister, had much sympathy with the principles of Quakerism, for he refused to be made a justice of the peace. His kinship with spiritual mysticism is revealed in his tracts on the *Resurrection*, and *Eternal Sonship*.<sup>3</sup>

The Rev. Abel Morgan (1713—1785), son of Rev. Enoch Morgan, and nephew of Abel Morgan, born in the Welsh Tract, Pa., was a champion of baptism by immersion. He lived on peaceable terms with Friends. His controversy with Dr. Samuel Finney, President of Princeton, was published in 1747 and 1750.<sup>4</sup>

Charles Humphreys (1712—1786), grandson of the Rev. Daniel Humphreys, Independent Minister, born in Haverford, Pa., and a member of the Continental Congress, was a strong supporter of peace. He voted against the Declaration of Independence, although opposed to the oppressive measures of Britain. Lord Cornwallis occupied his residence, Mansion House, on his return to Philadelphia from Watson's Ford on the Skuylkill river. Friends helped to make him member of the General Congress in 1775.

Dr. John Morgan (1725—1789) was the son of Evan Morgan, merchant, Philadelphia, and an eminent physician. He recommended "Inoculation" in a treatise published in 1776.<sup>5</sup>

Francis Hopkinson (1737—1791), judge and poet, was

<sup>1</sup> Appleton's *Amer. Biog.*, Vol. 2 ; and Mardy Rees's *Notable Welshmen*, 1700—1900, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Appleton's *Amer. Biog.*, Vol. 4, pp. 394, 395 ; and *Notable Welshmen*, pp. 24, 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Geiriadur Bywgraffyddol*, by Isaac Ffoulkes, Lley M.S.S. ; *Notable Welshmen*, Mardy Rees, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> Appleton's *Amer. Biog.*, Vol. 4, p. 395.

<sup>5</sup> *Notable Welshmen*, by Mardy Rees, p. 92 ; Appleton's *Amer. Biog.*, Vol. IV., p. 401.

born of Welsh parents in Philadelphia. *Hail Columbia*, and *The Battle of Kegge*, were from his pen. He signed the "Declaration of Independence." New Jersey was represented by him in the Senate. He was judge in Philadelphia.<sup>1</sup>

The contributions of Wales to America have been most varied, and some of these should be mentioned here. America is deservedly proud of its system of education, and Welshmen assisted in building the structure. Among the benefactors of learning were, John Harvard, the founder of Harvard College; Elihu Yale, whose name is perpetuated by Yale University; the Rev. Morgan Edwards and Dr. Samuel Jones, who established Brown University; Colonel Williams, commemorated by Williams College; John and Samuel Phillips, founders of Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass in 1778. John Phillips, in 1780, started the Phillips—Exeter Academy. Apart from the service and witness of the Welsh Quakers, Wales has contributed more than any other nation to the development of the spirit and soul of America. Love of home, religion, and liberty has characterized the Welsh settlers. Senator John Sharp Williams in the Senate of the United States paid a sincere tribute when he declared, "No nation, in proportion to its population, has contributed more to the civil, religious, and industrial development of America than the Welsh." Welsh blood flowed through the veins of Thomas Jefferson—the author, aided by Franklin, of the Declaration of Independence—and Presidents Adams, Monroe, Harrison, Lincoln, and Garfield.

Although this is a Quaker history it seems only right to record that Joshua Humphreys, Haverford (1751—1838), the grandson of Daniel Humphreys, Porthwen, Mer., N. Wales, settler, 1682, was the greatest ship-building architect in America, and is known as the "Father of the American Navy." General Daniel Morgan, 1736—1802, was born in New Jersey.

Robert Morris, the Financier of the American Revolution, was born in Liverpool 20 Jan., 1733. Washington repeatedly and publicly declared his gratitude to the thrifty sturdy Welshman, Morris. Three million dollars were advanced by this Welsh banker of Philadelphia, which broke him. He spent three years in prison as debtor in Philadelphia, and died in poverty, forgotten by the Republic. This martyr on the altar of American Independence, after an oblivion of over a hundred years, has been honoured with a monument to commemorate his services to the young Republic by the State of Pennsylvania.

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<sup>1</sup> *Geiriadur Bywgraffyddol*, I. Ffoulkes.

## IV.

Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings  
for Wales.

ACCORDING to one piquant writer "the mystics saved religion and destroyed the Church," but this is not true as regards the Quakers. George Fox, the creator of the Society of Friends—although when he promulgated his principles had no intention to create a new denomination—proved himself to be not only a great prophet, but also a remarkable organizer. Had he been content merely with stirring up the people the enthusiasm created by him would have evaporated without adequate organization to utilize it aright. His powers of organization were as striking as his prophetic utterances. Fox was a creator of unique capacity for detail and efficiency. The fine bust at Devonshire House gives one the idea of a massive brain, and penetrating pre-vision. His genius left an indelible impression upon the meetings he instituted. Quakers everywhere recognized him as a leader worthy of emulation in all affairs pertaining to their well-being. Monthly,<sup>1</sup> Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings were formed for the administration of discipline and the business of the Society. The women's meetings, for mutual edification and not discipline, were a novel feature at the time.

The Monthly Meetings for Wales, in some cases, covered large areas, but the members were loyal to them, and travelled long distances in order to take part in the proceedings. As members decreased the Monthly Meeting enlarged its circuit, until, in the end, it comprised more than one county. (*Vide* account of Cardiganshire in this work.) The objects of this meeting were various, such as the admission of new members, the granting of removal certificates, the exercise of discipline, the election of elders to watch over the ministry, provision for poor members, the education of children, and other matters.

The Quarterly Meetings were composed of several Monthly Meetings, from which they received regular reports of their proceedings, while it was also their duty to hear appeals from their decisions.

<sup>1</sup> Settled in Wales in 1667, "and there in the Lord's power we settled the Monthly Meetings." *Journal*, Vol. II., p. 120.



The Yearly Meetings were composed of the Quarterly Meetings, or representatives from them. These were the final courts of appeal, and they had the general superintendence of the whole Society in Wales. The Yearly Meeting for Wales did not follow the geographical boundary, for it included parts of other English counties bordering on Wales. Richard Davies, of Welshpool, first mooted the Yearly Meeting for Wales in 1681. (His *Autobiography*, p. 134, edition 1794.)

Connected with the Yearly Meeting was a Meeting for Sufferings, composed of ministers, elders, and members, chosen by the Quarterly Meeting. The original design of this meeting was to make application to the Government on behalf of those members of the Society who were exposed to suffering and persecution in the early history of the denomination. Some of the first Welsh Quakers, Lewis Owen, of Tyddynygarreg; Charles Lloyd, of Dolobrán; Robert Owen, of Dolserau (son-in-law of Robert Vaughan, Hengwrt, the notable Welsh Antiquary); Owen Humphrey, of Llwyndu—men of substance and noble pedigree, had more to do with putting an end to persecution for religious belief than either Penn or Fox, for they were related to those statesmen who had the power to right matters. The early Welsh Quakers discharged the duties of the Meeting for Sufferings faithfully and successfully, as illustrated by the records which are extant. The original object of this meeting was changed, and it acted like a Standing Committee, appointed to watch over the whole concerns of the Society when the Yearly Meeting was not assembled. The Welsh Quakers had other meetings for mutual consultation and advice. A feature of the Yearly Meeting for example was a service of worship for outsiders. Thomas Story records that at the Radnor Yearly Meeting, 1717, a barn was loaned by a priest for the purpose as a mark of favour because the Quakers preached Christ, and endeavoured to reform the people. The priest expected to be censured for his action. The Town Hall was hired by consent of the Magistrates because the barn proved inadequate. John Kelsale refers several times in his *Journal* to large public meetings in connection with the Yearly Meetings in different towns, such as Carmarthen and Hereford. Distinguished visitors from England and America sometimes attended the Yearly Meeting. In 1786, Rebecca Jones, U.S.A., took part at Cardiff, and George Dillwyn, New Jersey.

The laws of the Society compelled members in case of disputes to submit their grievance to the arbitration of two or

three fellow-members. Not in a single instance did they take a dispute into a court of law.

The Society in Wales had the services of such men as Thomas Lloyd, Dolobrán; Elisha Beadles, Pontymoile; John Young; R. L. Harford; Joseph Tregelles Price; and other distinguished gentlemen as clerks of the different meetings, and their reports are truly fine.

In some of the Minute books of the Monthly Meetings we found certain naïveremarks, such as the sale of tobacco in a Pembroke Meeting: John Kelsale and another to look after the "sleepers" at the Dolobrán Meeting House. "*Nid oes gwamalu i fod mewn cariad: nid yw'r meddwl i hedeg oddiwrth y ddynes hon at ddynes arall.*" (There must be no fickleness in courtship. The mind must not be allowed to flit from this woman to another woman.) Such advice in the Monmouthshire Minute book seems to reflect the custom of the age outside the Society. We did not discover one breach of promise case in our researches; and no wonder, for Friends made marriage a matter of prayer. With them it was a divine ordinance, hence their blessed unions. To the marriage of true minds the system admitted no impediment. The parties were liberated for the sacred ceremony by the meeting first.

The Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of Glamorgan, Carmarthen, etc. (1724—1831), are kept in a safe at the Neath Meeting House. The Minutes of the Pembrokeshire Monthly Meeting are there also. Book I., 1699—1749; Book II., 1749—1806; Book III., 1806—1842, the date of its euthanasia.

Interesting extracts from these Minute books were published in the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society's *Transactions*, Volume IV., by George Eyre Evans. In book (16) of the Minutes we have an account of the new meeting house at Pen-place; also investigation concerning the clearness of John Burford "relating tythe," and John Owen; apprenticeship of William Griffiths. Book (19) contains names of several who married out of the Society. On 8, xii., 1797, Evan Rees and his wife of Neath, were the only two present at Monthly Meeting, Carmarthen. A fine testimony to Job Thomas, Penywain, is preserved in book (22), dated, Swansea, 24, iv., 1806. Elijah Waring withdrew from membership, 9, xii., 1824. Letter found in same book. The case of Laugharne bulks largely in book (23). A list of Friends mentioned in the Monthly Meeting books of Swansea, Carmarthen, and Glamorgan may be seen at Devonshire House. (1750—1795). [M.S. Portfolio 8, No. 169.]

The Monmouthshire Monthly Meeting Minutes are in several volumes. No. 1., 1703—1719. This contains an important account of the Society of Friends, written in Welsh.<sup>1</sup> It reads like a synopsis of George Fox's address on the object of the Monthly Meeting. The following furnishes an idea of its trend:—The Society of Friends must be in the Spirit, and Friends must know one another in the Spirit and power of God. Where two or three are gathered together in Truth, there the Church is, and if one of the meeting would dishonour God let him be waited upon and admonished. Care must be taken in business that the demeanour be honest and straightforward. Widows and children must be cared for. Couples must not go to Baal's priest to be married, for their hands are bloodstained, having driven their brethren away to strange lands. "The rotten religion of the Ranters" (*crefydd pŵdwr y Ranters*) must be shunned. In courtship there must be no flitting in mind from one woman to another or guidance cannot be discovered. Any dispute to be settled at once. The instruction of children important. Must have our own burial ground, like Abraham of old. Records must be kept, and for this end suitable books to be purchased.

This Welsh introduction is well written; would that the author had given us more of his sane and sweet counsel.

#### MOUMOUTHSHIRE MONTHLY MEETING, NO. 1. 1703—1719.

Pontymoil. (2, iv., 1703.) Present—Philip Leonard, Isaac Morgan, Elisha Beadles (Pontymoil Meeting), Charles Hanbury, Josuah Phillips, Nathaniel Phillips (Pant Meeting.). William Cooper and Sara Coslett to marry. Signed, Elisha Beadles.

Pontymoil. (3, iii, 1704.) For Pontymoil, Isaac Morgan, Roger Jenkin, Elisha Beadles. For Pant, Charles Hanbury. For Castleton and Shire Newton, none present.

Abergavenny, 1714, Matthew Lewis.

1760. Samuel Richards, a Quaker, was prisoner in the county, on account of the Militia—for refusing or neglecting to provide a substitute. His son, John Richards, was committed to gaol 27, iii., 1760.

In the Minute Book (No. 6) a list of subscribers towards the new meeting house at Pontypool is supplied.

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<sup>1</sup> "Cymdeithas ffriends sydd raid bod yn yr Ysbryd a holl ffriends sydd raid adnabod y naill y llall yn yr Ysbryd ag yngallu Duw, etc."

## QUARTERLY MEETINGS.

In 1836 the Monmouthshire Monthly Meeting became part of the South Division of Wales.

The number of Quarterly Meetings in Great Britain in 1800 was 30, and those contained something like 425 meetings for worship on First Day mornings. Twelve of these were in South Wales,<sup>1</sup> and four in North Wales.<sup>2</sup> In passing we might mention that the Monmouth Quarterly Meeting, which began in 1698, had its first Minutes written in Welsh. Had the Society made more use of Welsh its membership would not have dwindled so rapidly in the Principality.

In 1882 the Quarterly Meetings were reduced to 18, which included 306 meetings for worship. South Wales in that year had only three meetings, Swansea, Neath, and Cardiff.

In 1816 the membership of the Monthly Meeting of Pembroke, Carmarthen, Glamorgan, and Monmouth totalled 112—Pem. 30, Carm. and Glam. 46, Mon. 36. Pembroke, in 1829, had 14 members, and in that year its Monthly Meeting ceased, and was merged with that of neighbouring counties.

The members in South Wales, in 1820, numbered 150; in 1836, they were 108; and in 1866, were reduced to 68.

In 1908, H. D. Phillips, of Llandrindod Wells, in his evidence before the "Royal Commission on the Church of England, and other religious bodies in Wales and Monmouthshire," supplied valuable facts concerning Quakerism. The Cause had improved greatly since 1882. He stated that there were about 302 members of the Society of Friends in Wales and Monmouthshire with meeting houses in use at Cardiff, Swansea, Neath, Llandrindod Wells, Penybont, Pales, Llanyre, and Colwyn Bay. Meetings were occasionally held by Friends at Aberystwyth, Newport (Mon.), Milford Haven, and other places. Adult schools were conducted by a few Friends at Newport, Milford Haven, Cardiff, and Merthyr. Within a quarter of a century new meeting houses were erected at Penybont, Cardiff, Colwyn Bay, Llandrindod Wells, and Swansea. These were the outcome of a revival in Quakerism.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> SOUTH WALES: Carmarthen, Penywaun, Swansea, Neath, Haverfordwest, Milford, Jamestown (Redstone), Puncteston, Laugharne, Pontypool, Shire Newton, Pales, Penygraig.

<sup>2</sup> NORTH WALES: Esgairgoch, Llwyndu, Tyddynygarreg, Llanidloes.

<sup>3</sup> Report of the Commission.



## ECHOES FROM SEVERAL HALF-YEARLY AND YEARLY MEETINGS.

The following matters<sup>1</sup> were considered by the Yearly and Half-Yearly Meetings for Wales, and help the reader to form an opinion of what weighed most upon the minds of Friends on those respective dates.

In 1755, at Llandilo, a warning was issued concerning the payment of tithes. Again, in 1758, at the Chepstow Yearly Meeting there was a complaint about some yielding on tithes. Friends were exhorted to be careful in this respect, and not to comply directly or indirectly, but to stand faithful and valiant in the cause of God. They must keep up the ancient testimony against this unchristian yoke.

At Presteign, in 1763, the importance of educating "the youth of our Society" in love, religion, and virtue, and also necessary learning, was the subject of chief consideration. The children of Friends at this period were not educated as they should be; many of the children were not taught how to read or write. "Friends must get better education for their children." At the Half Yearly Meeting, 16, iv., 1817, it was agreed that the children in Radnorshire were in need of education, and that they could be educated at much less expense, near home, than by sending them to Sidcot, for so long a time as they would otherwise require to be sent.

At Oswestry, in 1760, a note of loyal patriotism was struck. A deficiency of care in some places against defrauding the King of his customs, duties, excise by dealing in "run goods," gave some Friends no small pain of mind. Friends must have clean hands from smuggling and covetousness, and must observe their duty of giving to Cæsar that which was Cæsar's, in gratitude for favours received from the Government.

In 1762 Friends were recommended to refrain from paying toward the Militia because the act was opposed to Quaker principles.

At Presteign, 26, iv., 1763, it was reported that the state of Trefyrhyg, Haverfordwest, Talcoed, and Esgairgoch was so low that no men could be found there fit for the office of ministers or elders.

In 1799, a collection for Ackworth School was agreed upon. Subscriptions from North Wales were to be sent to Richard Dearman, Coalbrookdale, and from South Wales, to John Harford, Melin Griffith Works, near Cardiff. The children

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<sup>1</sup> Extracted from *Epistles* and old Minute books at Devonshire House.

of Friends not in affluence were the objects of Ackworth School. Dr. Fothergill was closely associated with this institution. Above three hundred children of both sexes were trained here in the year 1781 for suitable occupations. These were fed, clad, and educated by Friends. The following deserves the consideration of modern educationists. "The children are taught habits of regularity, of decency, and respectful subordination to their superiors, of forbearance, affection, and kindness towards each other; and of religious reverence towards their Maker." [*Memoirs of John Fothergill, M.D.*, p. 137.]

At the Half-Yearly Meeting, Hay, 24 and 25, viii., 1802, Daniel Starbuck, Samuel Starbuck, junior, Thomas Bigg, R. S. Harford, Evan Rees, and Peter Price were appointed to take charge of business respecting the meeting houses and burial grounds in the counties of Carmarthen, Glamorgan, and Pembroke. A suitable place for a meeting house at Hay, where also the Half-Yearly Meetings could be held, was considered. At Shrewsbury, in 1805, Thomas Bigg, R. S. Harford, Peter Price, and Edward Simkin were appointed visitors to the Monthly and Preparative Meetings.

In 1810, Brecon Half-Yearly, 18 and 19, iv., the total amount of tithes by warrant was £212 12s. 8d. In kind £33 1s. 9d. Warden's rates by warrant, £60 16s. 1d.; Military, ditto, 8/- Total £306 18s. 6d.

At the Yearly Meeting, Cardiff, 1747, Jane Morgan, Miriam Bowen, Martha Williams, Barbara Cooper, Abiah Darby, Ann Arethy, Sarah Cooper, Martha Jones, and Mary Padley represented the women.

In 1755 the state of women's meetings in Wales was considered, and the report reads: "They hold a Preparative Meeting every month on the first day preceding the Monthly Meeting, where they make a collection for the poor, and they make enquiries of the Friends how women Friends attend the First day and week day meetings, and advise in case of remissness. They also make enquiries after poor Friends, and relieve the necessitous."

The women representatives at the Yearly Meeting of 1755, held on 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> of the 4<sup>mo</sup> were: Cardigan and Radnor counties—Sarah Lloyd and Miriam Bowen. Carmarthen—Judith Reece and Margaret Reynolds. Glamorgan—Priscilla Jurman and Elizabeth Taylor. Pembroke—Elizabeth Lewis and Elisa Cornock. Monmouth—Martha Jones, also an "Epistle." Merioneth, Montgomery, and Shropshire sent no representatives, but the last two places forwarded "Epistles."

YEARLY MEETINGS FOR WALES (1682—1797).<sup>1</sup>

1682, Redstone, Pem. ; 1683, Dolgyn, Mer. ; 1684, Haverfordwest, Pem. ; 1685, Garthgynvor, Mer. ; 1686, Near Llanfair, Llanfareth Parish ; 1687, Dolo-brân, Mont. ; 1688, Pontymoill, Mon. ; 1689, William Awberry's house, Breck. ; 1690, Swansea, Glam. ; 1691, Haverfordwest ; 1692, Garthgynvor ; 1693, Coed Epionaid (Cristionydd) ; 1694, Dolo-brân ; 1695, House of Roger Hughes, Rad. ; 1696, House of Richard Hanbury, Pontymoill ; 1697, House of Robert Evans, Llanidloes ; 1698, House of Evan Lloyd, Rhaiadr ; 1699, Llanidloes ; 1700, Llanidloes ; 1701, Llanidloes ; 1702, Llanidloes ; 1703, Llanidloes ; 1704, Llanidloes ; 1705, Builth, Breck. ; 1706, Llanidloes ; 1707, Builth ; 1708, Newtown, Mont. ; 1709, Llandovery, Carm. ; 1710, Abergavenny, Mon. ; 1711, Builth ; 1712, Llanidloes ; 1713, Newtown ; 1714, Wrexham ; 1715, Haverfordwest ; 1716, Pontymoill ; 1717, New Radnor ; 1718, Shrewsbury ; 1719, Builth ; 1720, Swansea ; 1721, Dolgelley, Mer. ; 1722, Llanidloes ; 1723, Presteign, Rad. ; 1724, Monmouth, Mon. ; 1725, Carmarthen Town ; 1726, Denbigh Town ; 1727, Shrewsbury ; 1728, Brecknock Town ; 1729, Newport, Mon. ; 1730, Rhaiadr Gwy ; 1731, Ludlow ; 1732, Bala, Mer. ; 1733, Hay, Breck. ; 1734, Welshpool, Mont. ; 1735, Llandovery ; 1736, Cardigan Town ; 1737, Whitechurch, Shropshire ; 1738, Knighton, Rad. ; 1739, Cowbridge, Glam. ; 1740, Montgomery Town ; 1741, Usk, Mon. ; 1742, Bridgnorth, Shropshire ; 1743, Tenby, Pem. ; 1744, Llanidloes ; 1745, Carmarthen Town ; 1746, Builth ; 1747, Cardiff, Glam. ; 1748, Salop, Shropshire ; 1749, Haverfordwest ; 1750, Brecon ; 1751, Newport, Shrop. ; 1752, Rhaiadr Gwy, Rad. ; 1753, Abergavenny ; 1754, Swansea ; 1755, Llandilo Fawr, Carm. ; 1756, Bishop's Castle, Shrop. ; 1757, Llanidloes, Mont. ; 1758, Chepstow, Mon. ; 1759, Neath, Glam. ; 1760, Oswestry, Shrop. ; 1761, Laugharne, Carm. ; 1762, Bala ; 1763, Presteign ; 1764, Wrexham ; 1765, Hay ; 1766, Pembroke ; 1767, Builth ; 1768, Wellington, Shrop. ; 1769, Cowbridge ; 1770, Knighton ; 1771, Ludlow ; 1772, Llanidloes ; 1773, Newtown ; 1774, Brecknock Town ; 1775, Dolgelley ; 1776, Monmouth ; 1777, Builth ; 1778, Llandovery ; 1779, Llanidloes ; 1780, Usk ; 1781, Haverfordwest ; 1782, Brecon ; 1783, Bridgnorth ; 1784, Rhaiadr Gwy, Rad. ; 1785, Aberystwyth, Card. ; 1786, Cardiff ; 1787, Machynlleth ; 1788, Hay ; 1789, Brecon ; 1790, Llanidloes ; 1791, Builth ; 1792, Bala ; 1793, Carmarthen Town ; 1794, Newtown ; 1795, Hay ; 1796, Brecon ; 1797, Welshpool.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide The Friend*, 1870, p. 15. Transcribed by F. J. Gibbins from an old Monmouthshire Monthly Meeting Minute book.

## VII.

## Literature—Quaker writers in Wales.



QUAKER writers confined their attention to religion for several decades ; and afterward, ranged gradually over many subjects which had a live, human interest. At first they were compelled to defend their attitude, and supply reasons for the faith that was in them. Then when controversy ceased Journals and Biography flourished. Quaker literature is exceptionally rich in these branches where the note of personal experience is paramount. Although, outwardly, Quakers appeared alike in dress, inwardly, they were strongly marked individualists. They preserved their individuality, and did not lose themselves in the mass. This characteristic becomes apparent in the writings which emanated from their pens. Browning teaches that every man should have his own "view-point," and in this Quakers anticipated the philosopher-poet.

To the Quakers the costliest and the most valuable thing in life was experience. No creed could offer this, neither could money purchase it. Even God Himself could not bestow it without payment. The price they paid was tribulation. The accent of authority rested upon their utterances, and their eloquence was not so much in words as in a fervent spirit. On their part it was patient waiting—"I waited patiently for the Lord and He inclined unto me." The waiting proved a blessing for they were cast on their own resources. They searched their own heart, and realized that their deliverance could only come from Someone greater. Their waiting, however, was not passive, for well they knew that Truth is never revealed to the indolent. When Friends became cold and poor and weak in the work the exhortation always tendered was "wait before the Lord." Knowledge with them became experience—heart knowledge, whereby alone man can know God. Mental equipment was not sufficient to know Him. Reason clung to the shore, but spiritual instincts took them far out into the deep. In all the Journals there is an intimate note of communion with the Eternal Spirit. Experience argues not, for it knows. They found certainty not in old forms and declarations, thoughts and



emotions, but in the only way whereby it may be found, in works of obedience. There is a heaven of joy in being kind, but Quakers knew that in order to reach this they had to perform the kind deed.

The books written by Quakers in Wales contain passages of rare spiritual beauty, embedded not infrequently among warnings and controversies. There is a placidity and calmness in some that act as restoratives to jaded nerves. In brief, they contain atmosphere, Fox failed to find in the Puritan pharmacœpia any prescription for his distressed mind. Religious counsellors, several of whom were well-intentioned, could not comprehend his malady. The voice which said, "There is one even Christ Jesus that can speak of thy condition," was heard by his Welsh followers, and the echo of that voice reverberates in their printed pages. They also saw the "ocean of darkness and death, and the infinite ocean of light and love, which flowed over the ocean of darkness," and through the infinite love of God had great openings. We feel that they can still speak to our condition, for true spirituality is independent of time and custom.

Their testimony rings true, and is comforting in an age of rush and excitement. The following passage from Thomas Williams's book<sup>1</sup> occurs to us now: "There is much in our days of Lo here's and Lo there's, one saying, Christ is under this form, and another, under that form of worship . . . behold he is nearer than any of the ways and forms that men have prescribed, He is within the soul, He is there reproving the sinner, and such as turn to Him shall be instructed what to do, and likewise *receive power and strength to perform it*. . . . Except Christ be in the soul that soul is in a reprobate state." Could anything more opportune be said unto the condition of the Christian Churches of to-day? Such a message can never grow old.

We regret that Welsh Quakers did not write more books in the Welsh language. Had this been done their influence would have spread, and the literature of their country would have been enriched. The few that remain are choice and fragrant—Ellis Pugh, Job Thomas, and one or two more. How refreshing in Welsh is that translation of Penn's work, published at Bala in 1830,<sup>2</sup> on Apostolic Worship;

<sup>1</sup> "An Address to the Society of People called Baptists meeting in Monmouthshire," by Thomas Williams, viii<sup>mo.</sup>, 1745, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> "Tyner ymweliad yng nghariad Duw, yn cynnwys eglur dystiolaeth ar yr hen ffordd at addoliad Apostolaidd." *Brit. Mus.*, 875, c. 27.

and that other, issued in 1855, *Selections from his advice to his children*.<sup>1</sup>

The Journals of visiting ministers are important as they afford a glimpse of the times in which they lived. We have selected those which contain accounts of visits to the Welsh meeting houses. The Journal of John Player, 1753, the original of which is at Garthmor, Neath, by the kind permission of the owner is included in the Appendix.

Slavery, peace, education, and natural history were subjects which evoked weighty words from some of the leading Quakers in Wales. We marvel not that Coleridge and Bentham praised the Quaker intellect, and that Carlyle, in *Sartor Resartus*, designated Quakers as "the greatest of modern reformers."

By pen and demeanour they helped to counteract the prevalent Erastianism<sup>2</sup> of the Stuart reign. The contributions of William Weston Young, Anna Letitia Waring, Elijah Waring, Tregelles, and others prove with what charm Quakers could wield the pen. Wales holds their names dear.

We would call attention to the service rendered Quakerism by Thomas Prichard, of Ross, a great Quaker. He exposed an attempt to disguise Unitarianism in the garb of Quakerism, as we relate later.

John Moon, Quaker, critized Hugh Evans, General Baptist preacher, of Nantmel, Radnorshire, for receiving payment from the State contrary to the principles of that body. Evans who came to Wales in 1646 from Coventry, "because his native country did not receive the proper ministration of the ordinance of Jesus Christ," was appointed itinerant preacher for Brecon and Radnor.<sup>3</sup> He has been described as laborious, painful, and successful. After his death, which occurred in 1657, William Bound, of Garthmawr, near Llandinam, and John Price, of Maesygelli, near Nantmel, published a pamphlet: "The Sun outshining the Moon," (1658) defending the memory of Hugh Evans. This reply to Moon

<sup>1</sup> "Pigion allan o gyngor William Penn i'w blant, wedi eu cyfieithu o'r Saesneg." In 1826, a Welsh letter appeared in the *Goleuad*: "Llythyr ar ddisgyblaeth Eglwysig" (Letter on Church discipline), by a Welsh Quaker. It is well written in idiomatic Welsh, and most charitable in its views. [*Vide* Wm. Penn in this section for Welsh books]

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *The Church and the World in Idea and in History*, by Walter Hobbouse, M.A., 1911, p. 254. Also *The Society of Friends in Evangelical Christianity, and Christianity in History*. (Issues of Reformation), by Vernon Bartlet and A. J. Carlyle, pp. 523—526.

<sup>3</sup> In a folio of cuttings in the Brit. Museum [4152, h. 5 (1)] the author states that Evans deserved to be paid in two counties for he did the work of two men.

is important, for it contains facts about the beginning of the General Baptist denomination in Wales. Jeremiah Ives, from Old Jewry, London, accompanied Hugh Evans to Wales, proving that the Baptist Church in the city was full of missionary enthusiasm. These historical facts would not have appeared had not Moon calumniated the Baptist pioneer.

John Myles, who also received State payment, took up the cudgels in defence of hireling ministers, and published, *Antidote against the Infection of the Times*, where, in his letter to the reader, he calls the Quaker denouncers of tithes and their payment. Seekers, Ranters, Familists, and professed Infidels came under his lash.

Walter Jenkins, of Pant, during his imprisonment at Monmouth Gaol, wrote, in 1660, a treatise, entitled, "The Law given forth out of Sion, and the commandments of the Lord of life, made known unto men." This was published in 1663, to which Edward Bourne added a postscript.<sup>1</sup>

Elisha Beadles, of Pontypool, his grandson, translated the work into Welsh<sup>2</sup> in 1699, intending to have it printed, but the Friends to whom he shewed it did not give him much encouragement. It was considered by the Yearly Meeting for Wales, in 1701, but nothing ensued. However, the translation was published at Shrewsbury about 1715, and is now very scarce.

Beadles wrote a Preface to Theodor Eccleston's replies to Thomas Andrews, M.A., Vicar of Llanover, who had written letters respecting Friends to a Pontypool parishioner. He sent a valuable account of the beginnings of Quakerism in South Wales to the Meetings for Sufferings in London, 21, viii., 1720. His testimony to Barbara Bevan, junior, is preserved at Devonshire House.

Francis Gawler (1663) wielded a ready pen. As early as 1659 he published<sup>3</sup> *A Record of some Persecutions inflicted upon some of the servants of the Lord in South Wales, with the sufferings of many for not paying tithes, not repairing steeple-houses, and for not coming to the steeple-houses. Also the fruits of some of the Priests who are called Ministers of the Gospel in South Wales and Pembrokeshire; where some persecutions hath been at Harford-west, which, in short, is here also mentioned, which hath not been brought to public till now.*

<sup>1</sup> *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 322, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> "Y gyfraith a roddwyd allan o Sion gwedi i hysbysu i ddynion gan Walter Jenkins, a sgrifenydd yn gynta yn yr iaith Saesoneg yn y flwyddyn 1660, ag yn awr gwedi i gyfieithu i'r Gymraeg er lleshad i bawb gan Elisha Beadles." [Mwythig.]

<sup>3</sup> London. Printed for Thomas Simmons at the Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate, 1659.

The bulk of this record has been incorporated in Besse's work, and its importance as a source is at once recognized, for it deals with the first years of Quakerism in South Wales, and gives a lucid account of Sufferings. The original work contains 28 pages. Gawler had a virile style.

In 1663 he issued a tract in favour of Quaker burial places, called: "The children of Abraham's Faith . . . . Burying their dead in their own burying places.<sup>1</sup>"

Morgan Watkins (1670), of Wigmor Grange, and Eyton, Leominster, was an early convert, and an able defender of the principles of Quakerism. It was he who approached George Fox when he had a great travail upon him for the salvation of the people in Radnorshire, and sent to address the multitude. In the Salisbury Library, University College, Cardiff, several of his works are preserved. All bear the marks of a strong intellect and devout spirit.

1. Debate with Vavasor Powel in 1653 (?) at Knighton. In this account several things are recorded of Watkins.

2. *The Perfect Life of the Son of God vindicated*. Who is the first born among many brethren, but is separated from sinners, who deny His perfect life, to be brought forth in His people here upon earth, and manifested in their mortal flesh by a ceasing from sin; and also an arrow shot out of Zion against Babylon and her merchants, among whom is found Vavasor Powel, pleading for sin and imperfection in a dispute at Knighton, in Radnorshire. (London, 1659.)

3. *Swearing Flayed in the New Covenant* was published in 1660. From St. Alban's Common Gaol, 7, xii., 1660, where I now suffer bonds for the Truth of God, etc.

4. *The Day manifesting the Night and the deeds of darkness reproved by the Light*, in the same year. His *Marks of the True Church* is a fine book. J. H. Davies, M.A., accounts for three other works by him.<sup>2</sup> Letters from Watkins are among the *Swarthmore MSS.* at Devonshire House. He was "friend, prison-fellow, and bed-fellow" of Thomas Ellwood in Buckinghamshire, who has recorded interesting reminiscences of Watkins. Ellwood, the prompter of *Paradise Regained*, Milton's Friend, and Editor of George Fox's *Journal*, was in prison with Watkins in 1665, first at Aylesbury, and afterward Wycombe.<sup>3</sup>

Thomas Lewis and others, of Merionethshire, wrote a petition to the King and both Houses of Parliament, which was signed by a score of Quaker men and women, in 1660,

<sup>1</sup> A copy in the Salisbury Library, University College, Cardiff.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibly. of Quaker Literature*.

<sup>3</sup> Note *Fox's Journal*, Vol. I., 448.



being a short declaration of the cruelty inflicted upon Quakers in North Wales.

Evan Jones, of Llanengan, Carnarvonshire, published *Deceivers made manifest* in 1672.

Bryan Sixsmith, in 1676, issued *The Unskilful Skirmisher rebuked for Blasphemy*, a brief answer to a pamphlet—"A skirmish made upon Quakerism."

Peter Price, of Presteign, Radnorshire, published *The Unequal Unyoked* in 1683.

Dr. Griffith Owen, in 1695, issued a fine little work in Pennsylvania, entitled, *Our Ancient Testimony renewed concerning our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. the Holy Scripture, and the Resurrection, occasioned at this time by several unjust charges published against us and our truly Christian profession by George Keith,*" etc.

George Keith, M.A. (1638—1716), once an ardent Quaker, apostasized, and became a disturber of meetings in Pennsylvania. Keith was a fine scholar, suffered imprisonment for his Quaker faith, and wrote in the cause of Truth during 1664—1692. His religious views changed, and in 1692 the Yearly Meeting for Philadelphia disowned him. He returned to London and joined the Anglican Church in 1700, and in 1702 returned to America as a travelling preacher for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He claimed that 500 converts from Quakerism joined the Established Church through his ministry in the States. Dr. Griffith Owen and other Welsh Quakers repudiated his bitter attacks upon the lovable Thomas Lloyd (Dolobrán) Deputy Governor. Lloyd met Keith in a public discussion. Dr. Rufus Jones quotes the following passage:<sup>1</sup> Thomas Lloyd declared that "one might be saved without the outer revelation of Christ, if he had no opportunity to know of it." Keith replied that "this was impossible, and that if such were Lloyd's views he could not own him as a Christian brother though he might be a devout heathen." The Keith of earlier years could not be reconciled with the Keith of the debate. His statements were quite incompatible. Hugh Roberts<sup>2</sup> supplies a scathing account of Keith's spirit and angry words. The Welsh were grieved that William Penn at first leaned toward Keith.

James Picton (1663—1672), one time Puritan Schoolmaster at Tenby, published, in 1663, a tract on "Swearing, etc." The work was issued in London, entitled "A just plea against swearing, and against the National worship of England."

<sup>1</sup> *Quakerism in the American Colonies*, p. 453.

<sup>2</sup> *Penn., Hist. and Biog. Mag.*, Vol. xvii., p. 205

Picton, who originally belonged to Swansea, had learning and power. His long term of imprisonment is a direct tribute to his influence as a leading Quaker. In a volume of "State Papers<sup>1</sup>" relating to Friends before 1672 we find an undated list of 125 persons who were prisoners, mostly under sentence of *praemunire* for seven years and upwards. "James Pickton, of Carmarthen, has been a prisoner above nine years." On the 23 May, 1672, 470 Quakers and others were pardoned, and among them James Picton, Charles Lloyd, Thomas Lloyd, Richard Davies, and ten others in Montgomeryshire, including four women. It is interesting to record that the name of "John Bunion" appears in the list of nine at Bedford. Fourteen names are given from Wales. Picton was qualified to write on the subject of Swearing, for he suffered for his conviction ten long years.

John Roberts (1617—1683), son of John Roberts, a native of Abergavenny, was born at Siddington, near Cirencester, and is remembered by the biography which D. Roberts, Chesham, his son, wrote after him. In 1665, two Quaker women visited the house of John Roberts and held a meeting. They directed Roberts to Richard Farnsworth, then a prisoner at Banbury. Farnsworth was found preaching through the window of his cell to a crowd in the street. His description of Zaccheus climbing the sycamore tree in order to see Jesus touched John Roberts, especially the application—that many men at that time were climbing the tree of knowledge. "Come down, Zaccheus, because all that may be known of God has been revealed in the soul." From that moment he decided to become a Quaker. He suffered many indignities, but remained loyal. George Bull, the vicar of Siddington, had him committed for refusing to pay tithe. The record of his conversation with the priest about heaven and purgatory is excellent and pointed. The Bishop of the diocese desired Roberts to keep the law as he was considered the leader of the Quakers in those parts. Sir John Guise's father, a persecutor, regretted on his deathbed that he had done aught against the Quakers. John Roberts quoted this incident in defending his Friends before Sir John, but the imprisonments did not cease until he met with Sir Robert Atkins in a duel, and was wounded. Then he remembered what John Roberts had told him—that the priests made him persecute the Quakers. Sir John Guise declared that if spared he would not interfere with them

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<sup>1</sup> The document appears to be a schedule to a draft of a petition. The reference is "S. P. Dom. Car. II., 311, 114; Cal. 1672, p. 214. The pardon list of 470 names is endorsed in the handwriting of Col. Blood. Prisoners in Small Goals to be pardoned, 23 May, '72.

afterward, and he kept his promise. Roberts suffered much through persecution. Died in 1683, and was buried in the Friends burial ground, which he had given, in the corner of his orchard near the village of Siddington.

The suffering case of Joshua Williams (1705), of Cwmcavvan Parish, Monmouthshire, attracted much attention. He was prosecuted in the Exchequer by William Retchmeyer, priest, of Cwmcavvan, a near relative, for 40/- demanded for tithes, which Joshua Williams could not pay for conscience sake. Williams afterward removed to Abington, Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Williams (Baptist minister, who was convinced) published his reasons why he left the Baptists and joined the Quakers—"To the Society of people called Baptists who formerly did meet at Llwinah, *sic* Llantristan, and at this time do meet at Usk, Langwm, and Penygarn, Mon. (16 pp.), 1745."<sup>2</sup>

It appeared strange that he should forsake the Baptists "and take up with that people or society in reproach, called Quakers, which are a people that almost all professors in general speak evil of. My reasons for so doing are as follows:—

1. "Negatively. Not in prejudice or revenge to any that profess your way.
2. "Neither in a pet or passion of my own spirit.
3. "Neither because the other minister gained Nathaniel Morgan's bounty.
4. "Neither for the want of temporal encouragements.
5. "It neither was nor is with a view of any temporal advantage or gain this world can afford; but in the affirmative, it is the same motive that Moses had when he refused the glory, pomp, and pleasures of Egypt."

William Burt proved, (1 Cor., ii., 10), that even Scriptures could not shew the right way of worshipping God without spirit, and again at the Quaker Yearly Meeting, Usk, 1741, the same truth was revealed. A voice said "Come out from among them, etc., I have found the heavenly life spring in my soul, and the divine power enabling me to embrace the cross."

His letter to the Baptist ministers about the five points included in Elisha Cole shews a large charity. The doctrine of election in a narrow sense he could not accept. Not found in Scripture, Cole, or Calvin.

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<sup>1</sup> *Bibliog. of Quaker Literature*, by J. H. Davies, M.A.

<sup>2</sup> Do., also *vide Hanes y Bedyddwyr*. A copy of this work is at the Salisbury Library, University College, Cardiff.

John Lewis, of Haverfordwest, was the author of *Brief observations on the History of Modern Enthusiasm*, 1759.<sup>1</sup>

Joseph Pollard, Swansea, issued a reply to William Richards, of Lynn, in 1809. A Welsh tract, *Brenhiniaeth a swyddau eraill Crist* (the Kingship and other offices of Christ), was printed for him by the Rev. Joseph Harries (Gomer) in 1819.

"A collection of memorials concerning divers deceased ministers, and others of the people called Quakers in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and parts adjacent, from nearly the first settlement to the year 1787, with some of the last expressions and exhortations of many of them," was published at Philadelphia in 1824. Among them are—John Bevan, Rowland Ellis, Cadwaladr Evans, Evan Evans, John Evans, Ellen Evans, Margaret Ellis, Mary Evans, Thomas Evans, William Foulke, Alice Griffith, Ellis Hugh, Jane Jones, Cadwaladr Jones, Joseph Jones, Griffith John, Thomas Lloyd [Letter to Dolobran Qly. Meeting, p. 30] William Lewis, Robert and Jane Owen, Ellis Pugh, Hugh Roberts [John Bevan's testimony to him, p. 37], and Ann Roberts.

William Penn (1644—1718) enriched Quaker literature and was the author of several important works. His *Sandy Foundation shaken* landed him in the Tower of London in 1668, owing to his attack on the Athanasian creed. There, during his imprisonment, he wrote perhaps his most popular book, *No cross, no crown*, also *Innocency with an open face*, which led to his release. During another period of imprisonment for preaching he wrote four treatises, of which "The great cause of liberty of conscience" (1671, or thereabout) is a splendid defence of religious toleration. His mysticism appealed to Welsh Quakers who had unbounded faith in him as a leader. *Agoriad* [Key etc.] by Penn, appeared in Welsh in 1703.

In 1749, John Owen, of Maesadda, translated one of his works<sup>2</sup> into Welsh, wherein the revival of primitive Christianity is promulgated. In 1825, a synopsis of Penn's introduction to the works of Robert Barclay was published at Swansea.<sup>3</sup> Direct revelation is considered and explained in this brief work. Penn's little *Enchiridion*, a compendium of cheerful rules for the conduct of life, was immensely popular in Wales, as well as England, in the eighteenth century. R. L. Stevenson was a warm admirer of this book,

<sup>1</sup> John Lewis translated J. Crook's work, *Principles of Truth*, into Welsh, wherein the author proves that the Quakers had not changed their religion. Printed by John Ross, 1773.

<sup>2</sup> *Prif Gristionogaeth a ymadfywiwyd*, Shrewsbury, 1790, pp. 62.

<sup>3</sup> *Datguddiad digyfrwng yn cael ei ystyried a'i egluro*. J. A. Williams, Swansea, 1825, pp. 24.



and Edmund Gosse wrote an introduction to the issue of 1900.<sup>1</sup> Penn's maxims are concise, polished, wise, and candid. He knows no reserve but communicates to the reader his charming thoughts and aspirations. His Quaker shrewdness is manifest, his optimism, and practicalness. In the *Union of Friends* he touches sublime mysticism. [Vide page 136 of Gosse's edition.]

Thomas Wynne (1692) wrote *The Antiquity of the Quakers proved out of the Scriptures of Truth*, which was published in 1677. The author declared that it was "published in love to the Papists, Protestants, Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists, with a salutation of pure love to all the tender-hearted Welshmen, but more especially to Flintshire, Denbighshire, Caernarvonshire, and Anglesea." There are two pages of Welsh at the end of the book in the form of a letter to his fellow countrymen, dated, Caerwys, 2, iv., 1677.

A scurrilous reply was published by one William Jones, entitled *Work for a Cooper*. The author contended that Wynne's book was a libel, and calls the author a cooper, the ale-man, the quack, and the speaking Quaker. An etched portrait of Thomas Wynne appeared in this work, tempted by the devil. Whether it was a portrait of Wynne we know not, but the same device was used by other writers when criticising an opponent. There is a Welsh reply, *I'r Cowper o Gaerwys o'i lythyr anraslon at y Cymru* [To the Cooper of Caerwys for his ungracious letter to the Welsh].

In 1679, Wynne issued a vigorous protest called, "An Anti-Christian Conspiracy detected and Satan's champion defeated."<sup>2</sup>

Thomas Story,<sup>3</sup> on his way to the Yearly Meeting at Bristol, visited Wrexham, 11th, ii., 1717. Dolobran 14th, First day, 16th Monthly Meeting. Newtown, Montgomeryshire, with Charles Lloyd on the 17th Yearly Meeting, for some time held there, but no settled meeting in the place. Llanidloes, 18th meeting at an Inn, some persons of account present, and some of them much broken. House of Edward Jones some miles distant, 19th. House of Evan Hughes, four miles from New Radnor, in the evening, where he lodged. Radnor Meeting appointed for 20th, where Yearly Meeting was to be the week following. Widow Price's house, 22nd Yearly Meeting, held in a barn and Town Hall. Story's explanation of Christian principles to a widow lady of rank is lucid and helpful. A doctor of divinity, from a distance,

<sup>1</sup> *Some Fruits of Solitude*, London, S. T. Freemantle, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide Merion in Welsh Tract*, pp. 265-6.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of the Life of Thomas Story*, 1747, pp. 570-575.

attended one of the meetings disguised in a blue coat. He raised no objections. Haverfordwest, 26th, over night at New Inn, lodged at Lewis Musgrave's. On 28th First day, at the meeting, which was not large but heavy.

Jamestown, 2, iii<sup>mo</sup>., small meeting. Evening at James Scorne's, who, following day went with him to a village on sea coast called Laighren (Laugharne, ?), small meeting but lively.

Swansea (Swangil) on 4th, entertained by Sylvanus Bevan. Following day, meeting at his brother's house, Bridgend. 7th Meeting at house of Llewelyn Jenkins, a Friend. Trevereig, 8, 10, and 12 at Pontymoil with John Bevan and Elisha Beadles.

*Annerch i'r Cymru*, by Ellis Pugh, was printed in Philadelphia in 1721<sup>1</sup> by Andrew Bradford, father-in-law of the notable statesman, Benjamin Franklin. In the testimony of the Gwynedd Monthly Meeting to him after his death we read: "He was in a declining state of health for more than a year before his decease, and unable to follow his calling; but his candle shone brighter as may be seen by perusing his *Salutation to the Britons*, which he wrote with his own hand in his native language."

On the 14 of Feb., 1720, the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia appointed Rowland Ellis, and twelve other Welshmen, "to meet together at Haverford Meeting House the next Third day, about the tenth hour, or as many of them as can, to peruse Ellis Pugh's Booke, and see whether it be proper to be printed, and to bring an acc<sup>t</sup> thereof to the next meeting."

The next month at Merion the Minutes contain: "The Friends appointed to peruse Ellis Pugh's booke have accordingly met and perused it, and believe it might be of service if it was printed."

The work was translated into English by Rowland Ellis, revised and corrected by David Lloyd, and published in 1727. In the original Welsh edition the history of the author and a testimony concerning him occupy the pages i-x, then follow 110 pages. The work is divided into ten chapters, but there is no division between chapters 1 and 2. The book has passed through several editions. It breathes a fragrant spirit, and is truly devotional. None can doubt the sincerity of the pious author. One passage which contains the essence of Christian mysticism deserves attention. We endeavoured to translate into English: "In this true silence they sit under the teaching of the anointing, which they receive from that

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<sup>1</sup> Two copies are known to exist.

Holy One, who is the Spirit of Truth, and who leads into every Truth ; and as this remains in them they require none to teach them, but the anointing teaches them all things. And whenever it seems good unto God to put a word in the mouth of any of them, that one is to speak the thing that seems good unto God, and to declare what God has revealed and taught him."

Edward Foulke (1651—1741) wrote in Welsh an excellent exhortation to his family in Pennsylvania, which was translated and appeared in *Comly's Miscellany*, II., p. 365 (1836).

Richard Davies, of Welshpool, was the author of what has been fitly called "A Welsh Quaker classic"—*An Account of the Convincement, Exercises, Services, and Travels of that ancient servant of the Lord, Richard Davies, with some relations of ancient Friends, and of the spreading of Truth in North Wales*. This valuable autobiography has passed through several editions, and is a most important authority on the beginnings of Quakerism in Wales. Its style is pleasing, and constrains the reader to pursue the author from place to place, and from incident to incident. It is an amazing mirror of an arresting personality. His "cameos" of Friends and others are clear and suggestive—Charles and Thomas Lloyd, Dolobrán, John ap John, Thomas Ellis, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and several others that might be mentioned. The same pith characterizes his portraiture of the Welshpool gaoler, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, David Maurice, an informer, Judge Walcott, and Sir Leoline Jenkin, Secretary of State.

Here we have adventure in its noblest form, the adventure of a fearless hero, who, in spite of prison and distress, reached the shining heights of peace and blessedness. The name of Richard Davies ranks high as a lucid and impartial autobiographer.

In 1704 a Welsh translation appeared, *Amddiffyniad Byrtros Qwakers*, gan W. Chandler, A. Pyot, J. Hodges, ac eraill, 78 pages (*Brief Defence of Quakers*).

Catherine Phillips,<sup>1</sup> née Payton (1726—1794), paid many visits to Wales during 1749—1782. In her *Memoirs*, published in London, in 1797, we have glimpses of Quakerism in different parts of the Principality. In May, 1749 (old style of reckoning), she visited, with Lucy Bradley as companion, the meeting of Friends in the counties of Radnor,

<sup>1</sup> Catherine Payton was the daughter of Henry and Ann Payton, of Dudley, Worcs. Her father was a Quaker minister. John Kelsale, in his diary, refers to Henry Payton, a Friend and minister, who offered him the post of clerk of iron works at Dolgryn, Mer., N. Wales, in the Fair at Welshpool, 1729.

Monmouth, Glamorgan, Pembroke, and parts of North Wales. The journey lasted seven weeks. She returned home to Dudley "in peace and thankfulness." During this journey the principal share of the work fell to her lot. The testimony was "sometimes exalted in its own authority over the libertine and hypocritical professors of it." The youth and honest-minded were visited and refreshed in divine love. The message was declared with strength and liberty to those outside the Society. She particularly notices the influence of her testimony upon "William Phillips, from Cornwall, who was then upon a visit to his relations at Swansea."<sup>1</sup> William Phillips, who was Welsh, married Catherine Payton on 15, vii., 1772, at Bewdley.<sup>2</sup> He was a copper agent, and had interests at Swansea and in Cornwall.

Her next visit was in 1750, to the Welsh Yearly Meeting at Brecknock, when she had several Bristol Friends as companions. Meetings were appointed at Caerleon,<sup>3</sup> Pontypool, and Abergavenny. This was the first time for a meeting to be held at Caerleon, which was to the satisfaction of the sensible Friends present. While the service was in progress on the First day a number of people were going about the street with a fiddle: "it being the custom in some places in Wales, after what they call divine service, to entertain themselves with music, or other diversions. What an inconsistency." A Presbyterian preacher at Abergavenny disturbed the service toward the close. His aim was to cloud the doctrine proclaimed, but he was blamed by the hearers, and missed his object.

She had not much public service at Brecknock, but was greatly humbled when her own service was compared with the service and conduct of some other of the ministers. From Wales she returned to Bristol and proceeded to the Yearly Meeting in London with Rachel Wilson, who had been her companion from Brecknock.

In the Spring of 1751 she attended the Welsh Yearly Meeting, held at Newport, Shropshire, "which was large and divinely favoured."<sup>4</sup>

On the 3 and 4, iv., 1752,<sup>5</sup> meetings were held by her at Coalbrookdale and Shrewsbury. At the latter place she visited two Friends, who were in prison for tithes. Whilst

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> p. 215.

<sup>3</sup> p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> p. 35.



in Essex in 1753 she spent a little time in the house of John Griffith (native of Radnorshire) at Chelmsford.<sup>1</sup>

After being away in America for about three years, she reached Holyhead from Dublin on the 27, vii., 1756, where she bought a horse. She covered the distance of 155 miles from Holyhead to her home in four days.

In the Spring of 1762 she attended the Yearly Meeting at Bala. The meeting was large considering the situation of the place; the people behaved soberly, and many of them were affected "by the heart-rending power of Truth."

After her marriage at Bewdley in 1772 she proceeded to Leominster to her sister Young's place. Whence accompanied by her brother, niece, and husband, William Phillips, she went to Swansea. Meetings were held at Hereford, Talgarth, and Llandilo. Some of the young men at the College (Trevecca), established by the Countess of Huntingdon, who came to the meeting at Talgarth, behaved rather lightly. One was earnest, for he desired to get among Quakers, and asked Phillips to procure a suitable place for him. A place was offered soon, but was not accepted. The meeting at Llandilo, though small, was satisfactory.

During a stay of some weeks at Swansea, Catherine Phillips visited some who had married out of meeting. Several were much affected, and two of them soon finished their course.<sup>2</sup>

In the seventh month of 1777 she accompanied her husband to Swansea, where he had business, and also to visit his mother.<sup>3</sup> After a fortnight in the town they travelled toward the New Passage in Monmouthshire, but the Passage House was too full of intending passengers to accommodate them. Phillips would go forward to Chepstow, and cross by the Old Passage, although neither of them liked the prospect. Catherine Phillips was uneasy about this course, so they lodged at a small Inn about two miles away, and returned to the New Passage in the morning. They crossed the Channel safely in squally weather, but the boat from the Old Passage, by the same tide, was lost, "and several men with many oxen were drowned. Thus kind Providence signally preserved us."<sup>4</sup>

On the 20, iv., 1778, she left home with her husband for Wales, he on business, and she to attend the Welsh Yearly Meeting at Llandovery. They took boat at Ilfracombe on the First day in the afternoon, and arrived at Mumbles before midnight, and went to Swansea in the morning.

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<sup>1</sup> p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 216, 217.

<sup>3</sup> p. 236.

<sup>4</sup> p. 236.

William Phillips had lately lost his mother who died at ninety-seven. "With joy . . . and except her hearing, retained her faculties to admiration. As her furniture, with her servants, remained in her house, we settled there."

On the 2nd of the fifth month they proceeded to the Yearly Meeting, and attended by the way a meeting at New Inn, which was large and very satisfactory. There were also present Samuel Sparrold, of Hitchin, Herts.; John Lewis, of Haverfordwest; Thomas Carrington, from North America. They accompanied John Lewis to a meeting appointed by John Lewis at a Friend's house (Job Thomas?) not far out of the way of Llandovery, and reached Llandovery the same night.

The Yearly Meeting, which began the following day, was a favoured season to Friends and others. The weather was wet, and affected the attendance, but the Gospel flowed freely. Before her marriage Catherine Phillips had two meetings at Llandovery, "where none live who profess with us." Her spirit in the course of the Yearly Meeting "was dipped into sympathy with the few Friends scattered about Wales; and unto those who were there assembled encouragement and instruction were afforded." On her return journey to Swansea a large meeting, and blessed, was held at Llandilo, which John Townsend, of London, and the other Friends previously named attended. These went back to New Inn for service, and all met the next day at Swansea, where the afternoon meeting was large, solemn, and instructive.

From Swansea both Catherine Phillips and her husband went to Cardiff, on the 14th of the month, and there, on the 15th, she had a small meeting. Thence they passed on to Bristol, and on the 30th returned to Wales. On the following day (First day) they attended two meetings at Pontymoile, near Pontypool. The morning service was chiefly for Friends, but the afternoon was open, and the attendance large. Both meetings were crowned with the Divine Presence. On the first of the sixth month they had a meeting with a few sober people at Cardiff. Careful of the one as well as the many. Catherine Phillips called upon a Quaker sister, who lived alone near Cowbridge, and comforted her. After the 12th she set out from Swansea to visit Friends at Haverfordwest, accompanied by her husband. Although exhausted by her continued service she covered her long journey to Pembrokeshire and discharged her duty. On the evening of the day they left Swansea a large meeting was held at Carmarthen, and on the 14th two large public meetings at Haverfordwest. This journey gave much satisfaction, and John Lewis returned with them to Swansea on the 16th. Two

days later the Quarterly Meeting was held at Swansea, small but solemn. On the 19th Catherine Phillips and John Lewis conducted a meeting at the Town Hall, Neath, which was not so large as anticipated, but a profitable season. Llantrisant was visited on the 20th and Trefyrhyg the next day, where they had two large meetings. At the morning meeting the few from Cardiff attended, and the poor lonely woman near Cowbridge. They had an opportunity with them and other Friends at a Friend's house. On their return to Swansea a meeting was held on the bowling green at Bridgend, where Catherine Phillips stood under the arbour. The journey on horseback (double) was fatiguing according to her report. Another meeting was held at Neath (First day) on the 28th, in a Friend's house in the morning, and in evening at White Rock, among the workmen of the Copper House and others. This was the last meeting she appointed in Wales, and on the 27th she left Swansea with peace and thoughtfulness, "and returned to it no more."<sup>1</sup> However, on the 25, iv., 1773, she visited Shire Newton, in Monmouthshire, which meeting was attended by many Welsh people. In the evening Catherine Phillips had a meeting at Mary Powell's, Chepstow, the only Quaker then living in that town. In 1780, she was at Coalbrookdale, and had a solemn opportunity at Abiah Darby's house. Anna Price, afterward of Neath, travelled with her through Cornwall in 1781. The following year she was in attendance at the Welsh Yearly Meeting at Bridgnorth, accompanied by Lydia Hawksworth.

Catherine Phillips was a woman of sterling qualities, when young she had a taste for philosophy and poetry, and could shine in conversation if she so desired, but she consecrated her intellectual gifts to the service of the ministry. She was a strict disciplinarian, and rendered considerable service in Wales in the establishing of women's meetings on right principles. Cardiff Friends exercised her much in 1752, because of their instability, and her epistle to the *Few* there (p. 314) shews intuition, sound judgment, and persuasive exhortation. Dated Dudley, 16, iii., 1752, Catherine Payton.

John Griffith (1713) was the author of a well-written and interesting book, entitled, *The Journal of John Griffiths, life, travels, and labours in the work of the ministry*, published in 1799<sup>2</sup>. He was the son of John and Amy Griffith, and was born 21, v., 1713, near Penybont, Radnorshire. He emigrated to Pennsylvania when young, and was with

<sup>1</sup> pp. 240—245.

<sup>2</sup> Publishers, John Phillips, London.

his uncle, John Morgan, at Philadelphia. In America he became a powerful and popular minister. In 1747, he visited England, but before landing was taken prisoner, with others, by a French privateer, and detained for some time at Bayonne and Dax. He returned to his aged mother after an absence of twenty-two years, and held successful meetings in Radnorshire, Cardiganshire, and other counties in South Wales.

In 1751 he held meetings at Coalbrookdale, Pales, Talcoed, and Cwm, and afterward, with his brother Benjamin, crossed over the bleak mountain to Cardiganshire. In the house of Evans, Werndriw, Cardiganshire, he detected a hypocrite, who was a hindrance to the service. He relates how he visited Penbank, in Carmarthenshire, where he had a good time, but "things were low." Penyplace shewed "great slackness." Carmarthen, on the First day, afforded a good meeting in the afternoon. Laugharne was visited on the second day of the week, and Jamestown the third day. Being harvest time the meeting was sparsely attended. A young woman acted as guide to Haverfordwest. The meeting at Redstone was small "yet open and comfortable." Thence he proceeded to Carmarthen and Swansea. On his way to Swansea he was drenched in the rain, but was comfortably entertained at the house of Paul Bevan. His next call was at Trefyrhyg, then Pontypool. He crossed the Severn at the New Passage. The Journal throughout breathes an excellent spirit, and has much charm. He married and settled in Witham, Essex. John Griffith gives valuable glimpses of life in Pennsylvania, where he saw an open-air gathering of three thousand Quakers.

In 1764 he published some brief remarks upon sundry important subjects, principally addressed to the people called Quakers. 1. Advice, caution, and counsel to parents and children. 2. Nature, and necessity of New Birth. 3. Nature of True Worship. 4. True and false ministry. 5. Nature, and usefulness of Christian discipline. Thoughts well expressed, and zeal for reformed characters.

Thomas Meredith (fl. 1758), according to Robert Jones,<sup>1</sup> Rhoslan, was partly a Quaker. Thomas Meredith, and Evan Thomas, of Montgomeryshire, and Moses Lewis, of Denbighshire, were once warm supporters of Howell Harris, but when they discovered that they could not live with the "Family" at Trefecca they left, and formed themselves into a sect lest they should be considered backsliders. Jones declares that they borrowed from Cudworth, and the most

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<sup>1</sup> *Drych yr Amseroedd* (Mirror of the Times), Trefriw, 1820, p. 136.



difficult things to comprehend from Morgan Llwyd and William Erbury ; and to make their religion spiritual enough put a good deal of Quaker leaven among the other ingredients. Their mixture was like a tatter-demalion's garb, and the original material could not be distinguished. Meredith travelled and suffered persecution. He complained of the opposition offered him in North Wales. Near Wrexham he found some people who had gone far beyond him in their religious views. "Illustration of several texts of Scripture, with a few letters to some of his Friends" was published at Salop.

Rebecca Byrd (1758—1834) was brought up within the area of the Welsh Yearly Meeting. She was the daughter of John and Jane Young, of Shrewsbury, and began her ministry in 1784, in her twenty-sixth year. She travelled much in the service of the Gospel, and was sound in doctrine, weighty, and Scriptural. To the poor she was kind and considerate, and constant in her friendships. Before the end of 1784 she joined Deborah Darby in a visit to Wales, and until the death of the latter, in 1810, they were companions in the same mission, and visited most parts of Great Britain and Ireland. In 1793, both travelled in North America, and were absent for about three years. She married William Byrd, of Marnhull, and became a member of the Monthly Meeting of Shaftesbury and Sherborne, in the county of Dorset. After the death of Deborah Darby she continued her ministry with her husband. Died 24, v., 1834, at the age of seventy-six, and was buried at Marnhull.

Her short paper concerning young people, which is full of ardent solicitude and affection, was included in the Testimony printed by the direction of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, held in London in 1835.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Prichard, of Ross (1765—1843), a native of Monmouthshire, according to one Bentham, who knew him well, was "eminent in goodness and in greatness," and was more conversant with the history of early Quakers than any other Quaker of his time. He published the following instructive, thoughtful work, which gave us much joy. *Remarks suggested by the perusal of a Portraiture of Primitive Quakerism*,<sup>2</sup> [London, 1813], 30 pages, Ross 5, iii., 1813.

Prichard begins the Remarks thus: "Many attempts have lately been made by Unitarian writers to identify their

<sup>1</sup> *Vide Testimony, concerning Rebecca Byrd.* Printed by Darton and Harvey, London, 1835.

<sup>2</sup> *Portraiture of Primitive Quakerism*, by William Penn, with a modern sketch of reputed orthodoxy and real intolerance by Ratcliffe Monthly Meeting.

faith with that of the Quakers, but it has been sometimes done rather covertly than openly." He quotes the "Devotional Extracts," which were given to the public with this design. Prichard himself was deceived, believing the work to be sanctioned by the Society of Friends. His suspicions were roused regarding the *Portraiture* because of the name of Archbishop Newcome, whose sanction to a version of the New Testament is mentioned, Prichard reveals his knowledge of the classics and theology. "Cicero alleges the common consent of mankind as a strong argument for the existence of God." He maintains that whoever would draw a portraiture of primitive Quakerism from the writings of William Penn must not confine himself to the "Sandy foundation shaken," because the tract was written in opposition to a Presbyterian preacher, and attacks all that is of mere human authority and invention in the tenets that relate to the Trinity, imputed righteousness, and the satisfaction and atonement made by Christ. The book (Penn's) gave great offence to professors, and Penn was imprisoned for it, but, says Prichard: "his gaoler was not ordered to put a *gag* in his mouth as his present inquisitors do, when he would open it for his justification."

"Innocency with her open face," presented by way of apology for the book "Sandy Foundation shaken" to all serious and enquiring persons, particularly the inhabitants of the city of London, should be studied. By apt quotation from "Innocency" Prichard surprised the minds of those who had been introduced to the amiable Penn through the medium of Unitarian quotation. It begins, "Religion, although there be nothing of greater concernment," etc. [p. 6-20].

The Unitarian author of the *Portraiture* in his preface refers to Penn's "Sandy Foundation shaken" in eulogistic terms, saying that it was a "manly vindication of pure Unitarian doctrine;" but Prichard's comment is illuminating, namely, that Penn's preface and postscript are omitted. He proceeds, declaring that "the grand distinguishing tenet of the Quakers is the continuance of the immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Will the Unitarian acknowledge this as another proof of identity? No, therefore it was convenient to drop the Preface." The Postscript was omitted because it contains Quaker truth, for example: "Neither do we confess another Lord Jesus Christ than He that appeared so many hundreds of years ago, made of a virgin like unto us in all things, *sin excepted*." Quakers, observed Prichard, did not deny the Trinity. "Christ was a proper object of adoration in the estimation of William Penn. He

held sacred all grand truths rejected of Unitarians, and yet, strange to say, they fastened on him as the great champion of their doctrine."

The Quaker critic offers salutary observations, "Quakers had kept out of theological disputes, confining themselves to expositions of a spiritual nature. . . . If a Quaker be a bad theological disputant, it is not to his discredit." Unaccustomed to written creeds the Quaker had not been prejudiced by "the trammels of a college." Reading his Bible, whence he extracted simply "his rules of life, and his articles of faith, he had become a spectacle for man to point at."

Prichard pays Barclay a worthy tribute in his book: "Barclay stands alone in treating the subject (Quakerism) with scholastic precision." His "Apology" is drawn up in the form of a School Thesis, "and the force and power of it has never been shaken." One of his concluding sentences shews "the excellent spirit" which possessed him. "Let us therefore decline the field of religious controversy as we would the field of battle—the one has too often led to the other." The sanity, fairness, and wisdom of his "Remarks" make one wish that we had more of his writings.

"Selections from the Papers of Martha Boone,<sup>1</sup> d. 1816, late of Birmingham . . . with a brief memoir," appeared in 1817 (London). These papers, found after her death, reveal a spiritual, amiable, benevolent, and poetic nature. When young she assisted in her father's business, and her father's partner allowed her a salary, one-tenth of which she gave to the poor as a sacred deposit. In order to cultivate her spirit and mind she rose early every morning. A truly attractive personality, as her reflections on "Life," "Peace," and "Prayer" witness. Four beautiful prayers adorn the volume [pp. 16, 20, 30, 36], and two poems [pp. 37, 38]. Her meditation on her brother Ambrose Rees's death is touching. He died, aged 23, at Trentham Inn, near Stone, Staffordshire, on his return from a visit to relatives at Liverpool, whither he had gone on horseback, in the hope of benefiting his health, for he was delicate. Martha Boone removed to Birmingham in 1801, where she endeared herself to all Friends. Like her mother she was an active worker in the Society. In 1816 she visited Neath with her infant son. Died 19th, ix., 1816.<sup>2</sup>

Evan Rees, of Neath, wrote a fine translation from French, selected from Lahaume's narrative of the Campaign in Russia

<sup>1</sup> Daughter of Evan and Elizabeth Rees, Neath.

<sup>2</sup> References to the above are found in *Bibly. of Quaker Literature*, by J. H. Davies, M.A.

in 1812, entitled, *Sketches of the Horrors of War* (1818), which passed through several editions. The *Memorials of Evan Rees*, son of Evan Rees, Ironmonger, Neath, appeared in the *Herald of Peace*, 1823. His sketches of war was the stock pamphlet of the Peace Society for years. Jonathan Rees, Neath, published his *Memoirs of Evan Rees* in 1853.

Several addresses on "Peace," delivered by J. T. Price, Neath Abbey, on different occasions, were published in the *Herald of Peace*. The address given at the tenth Anniversary of the Swansea and Neath Auxiliary Peace Society appeared in the *Herald*, Vol. VI., 1827. "Peace pages for the people" contain an interesting account of Joseph Price when as a boy in Cornwall he heard the sea waves say "Live in Peace." A ship of his, carrying iron-ore, was seized by a French man-of-war, and when the French captain saw that he carried no guns, let the crew go their peaceful way, having taught the enemy a lesson of trustfulness in mankind.

"To the memory of Peter Price, Neath Abbey, Ironmaster," by Elizabeth Davies, appeared in 1821. Peter Price, the father of J. T. Price, was a remarkable personality.

Edward Evans, a most gifted young Quaker, of Neath, who died 13, iv., 1859, was a strong advocate of temperance. An account of a public meeting, held by the Neath Total Abstinence Society, 14, v., 1859, was in commemoration of him.

Edwin Price (d. 1819), of Neath Abbey, who died young, found a worthy biographer in his mother, Anna Price. Although young, his saintly life charmed all who knew him. "Extracts from the Papers of E. Price, with some account of his last illness and death, by Anna Price," passed through two editions.<sup>1</sup> Extracts from his diary occupy about twenty-one pages, where we have an account of the accident which befell him in a colliery 12, vi., 1816, and how it altered his life. He suffered from inflammation of the lungs, which rendered bleeding and much reducing of the system necessary. His last end was peace, and the reader breathes the prayer "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his." Edwin Price triumphed over pain and death and his faith evoked admiration. Died 1, iii., 1819.

Charles Redwood wrote a most interesting book on the *Vale of Glamorgan: Scenes and Tales among the Welsh*, published in 1839. According to the advertisement, a tall solitary gentleman in rusty black suit and yarn stockings, who paced with melancholy gait Lincoln's Inn Gardens,

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<sup>1</sup> The second edition which we perused was published in 1819 by Hargrove, Gawthorp, & Cobb, 66 pp.



visited the Vale of Glamorgan every long vacation. After his death, amongst other things in a vellum covered note-book, the following contents were found :—*Nos Galan Gauaf*, *Teir nos Ysbryd nos*, “The Maid’s Trick,” “The Revival,” “Spectre Haunts,” “Beaupre Porch,” “Gwilym Twrch’s Apprenticeship,” *Mabsant*, “*Mari Lwyd*,” “St. Donat’s Castle,” *Cyhiraeth*, *Iolo Bardd*, *Ychain Bannog*, and the *Afainc*, “The Torrent Spectre,” “The Corpse Candle,” etc. Despite the Welsh titles of some of the tales all are written in English, and are really important, for they preserve old traditions and customs among the Welsh in the beautiful Vale of Glamorgan. The author if homely in style presented vivid and true pictures of Welsh life and character.

Elijah Waring will be gratefully remembered as the author of *Recollections and Anecdotes of Edward Williams, the Bard of Glamorgan, or Iolo Morgannwg, B.B.D.*, published by Charles Gilpin, London, in 1850. “The book,” said Waring, in the preface, was “a debt long due to the country of my adoption, and to the memory of a man who did honour to the name, and to the literature of Wales.”

Taliesin Williams, Iolo’s only son, intended to write his father’s biography, but the project never matured, and after his death his daughters committed the valuable material collected by him to the flames. Waring describes Iolo as a Unitarian, but his creed was whimsical, a compound of Christianity and Druidism, Philosophy and Mysticism. The history of all religions in all its copiousness could not furnish a definition of it. Many Welsh writers have doubted the authenticity of the story regarding Iolo’s refusal to accept the inheritance left him by his brothers who died in Jamaica, because they kept slaves; but Waring furnishes a full account of it in his volume, which is quite authentic.

No friend ever detested the slave trade more than Iolo. He positively refused to receive any monetary help from his three brothers, Thomas, Miles, and John, stone-masons, who settled in Jamaica, because they made their money in the land of slaves. Slaves had earned the money which planters paid them for building. These brothers, knowing of Iolo’s need, and anxious to make his life easier as a writer, proposed to grant him £50 a year. The offer was rejected, although the sum proffered would have assisted materially his family. He could not touch money made under such conditions. “No!” concluded Iolo, “I cannot touch their money. It is the price of blood—it is the purchase of humanity’s birth-right; rather would I starve than be fed on the contaminated gains of that *detested slave-trade*.” He became heir to the property in Jamaica after the death of his

brothers, which consisted, in part, of slaves. When pressed to administer the estate, and thus ensure provision for his family, "What!" he asked, "and bring the oppressed negro's curse on the heads of my children. . . . The ban of the Almighty is upon slavery and all its concomitants."<sup>1</sup> When Thomas Redwood, Neath, endeavoured to set the Jamaica business in a more favourable light, Iolo vehemently told his host: "Sir, the Almighty Himself could not make me take that money." Redwood gravely protested against such an extravagant assertion, and asked what could be the meaning of calling in question the omnipotence of God. "I meant what I said," he replied, the "Almighty can do nothing contrary to his attributes; justice and mercy are His great attributes, and both are violated by slavery; but both are upheld by my objections. Therefore, sir, I assert the Almighty could not make me take that money because it would be contrary to His attributes to do so."<sup>2</sup>

Waring in his vivid volume touches upon several vital subjects relating to Wales—history, customs, art, religion, and authors. His drawing of Iolo was etched by Robert Cruickshank. In his correspondence with Robert Southey, Poet Laureate, the English poet's admiration for the Glamorgan bard is preserved.

In the eighth section of Southey's poem on Madoc, Iolo is mentioned—

" —Iolo, old Iolo, he who knows  
The virtues of all herbs of mount or vale,  
Or greenwood shade, or quiet brooklet's bed;  
Whatever love of science, or of song  
Sages and bards of old have handed down."<sup>3</sup>

The author of the *Recollections* furnishes a pleasing account of Southey's intention to settle in the lovely vale of Neath before he went to live in Cumberland. Had the landlord been prepared to make an alteration in the kitchen of the old mansion of Maesgwyn, near Resolven, Southey's children would have been "Cambrians" instead of "Cumbrians."<sup>4</sup> The English bard loved Welsh traditions, and longed to reside in Wales in order to learn the Welsh language. Southey sent to Waring for insertion in *Recollections* Iolo's popular tales of Arthur and Craig-y-ddinas (Pont Neath Vaughan), and Owen Glyndwr's visit to Sir Lawrence Berkerolles (c. 1400).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> p. 95.

"The ingenious and well-informed" William Weston Young, an observant naturalist, traced the nocturnal noises of *Cwn Wybir* (Hounds of the Air) to curlews on the wing. Waring gives an interesting account of Young's explanation.<sup>1</sup> In the appendix to the *Recollections* the author has preserved some of Iolo's English verse and a mass of important data regarding Welsh history. Had Waring written a complete biography of Iolo, what a valuable work we should have had; but he refrained from it, fully expecting that Taliesin Williams would have performed the task, but the grave claimed the writer and the fire his manuscript through the carelessness of his daughters.

The seven chapters in Waring's volume are like seven lamps shedding light upon the life and character of the amazing Iolo. He appears as a walker of long journeys, a talker of endless resource and charm, and a beloved lover of freedom. In raising this monument to Iolo Morgannwg, Elijah Waring has secured for himself lasting fame as a writer. The controversy in Wales concerning Iolo's treatment of old Welsh texts does not come within the purview of this work, but the *Recollections* are important side-lights on his strong moral character, and we owe a deep debt of gratitude to his loyal Friend for providing posterity with such delineations of old Iolo. The following commemorative Sonnet, written by Waring "to Iolo in his own haunts,"<sup>2</sup> reveals his pleasing gift as versifier:—

"Old Iolo, in these lanes and pleasant meads,  
With thee I walk in spirit to this day;  
Though a full score of years have stolen away  
Since thou didst calmly doff the mortal weeds  
That clad thy living soul, for an array  
Now worthy an Immortal. Often here  
Dost thou commune with fancies, grave or gay,  
Now ranging Earth, and now a higher sphere;  
Thy brain inventive, and thy conscience clear,  
Methinks e'en now I hear thy panting breath  
Turning rare thoughts—some touch of bardic lore,  
Or modern polity, or tales of yore—  
And listen reverently, when it saith  
Man does not truly live, till after Death."

Dr. Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, LL.D. (1813—1875), the Greek scholar, was born at Wodehouse Place, Falmouth, 20 Jan., 1813, but settled at Neath Abbey when a mere boy. Although related to the proprietors, he had to pass through the mill like every other apprentice at the well-known foundry. It is related that at a tender age he was expected

<sup>1</sup> 142.

<sup>2</sup> p. 157.

to be in attendance at the iron-works at five in the morning, in order to get the fire ready for the moulders who came in at six o'clock. Frequently the moulders arrived before the fire had been kindled, and they spared not the young apprentice. Early in life it was discovered that the mind of Samuel was elsewhere, and would not be a success in business. Nevertheless, he was connected with the Neath Abbey Works until 1844. One thing he learnt there well—the Welsh language. In 1838 he published the first-fruits of his Biblical Scholarship, but his Greek Testament was not issued until several years afterwards. Dr. Tregelles was one of the Revisers of the New Testament, and took a great interest in the Welsh translation of the Rev. J. Williams (*Philologos*), Rhos, *Yr Oraclau Bywiol*. A large number of hymns, chiefly in use among the Plymouth Brethren, were penned by him.

In order to make his translation from the Greek as perfect as possible, the great linguist visited the Vatican Library, Rome, where he had access to old texts. We can imagine with what surprise he heard a Welsh greeting from the Cardinal in charge, "*Boreu da i chwi*" (Good morning to you). This was Cardinal Mezzofanti, who had been taught Welsh in exchange for Italian by a notable Welsh portrait painter, Thomas Brigstocke of Carmarthen, when an art student in Rome. Dr. Tregelles related the incident to Friends at Neath Abbey on his return home.

Ebenezer Thomas (*Eben Fardd*) translated into Welsh one of his books.<sup>1</sup>

Died at Plymouth 24 April, 1875.<sup>2</sup>

Proof of Dr. Tregelles's knowledge of Welsh literature is supplied by Elijah Waring, his Friend, in his volume on Iolo (pp. 197–8). The learned linguist went to *Trefflemin* with Isaac Redwood to plant evergreens on Iolo's tomb. "I have been," he wrote, "at the grave of Tasso in St. Onofrius at Rome, and that of Alfieri in Santa Croce at Florence; but these, and many others, have not made me the less remember the Bard of Glamorgan. I hope your account of him may interest many in that remarkable man." (p. 199).

Dr. Tregelles received a Civil List Pension. Two attacks of paralysis hindered his work in 1861 and 1870.

Anna Letitia Waring (1820—1910), the daughter of Elijah Waring, possessed a sweet gift of religious song. Several of her beautiful hymns are in vogue among the Protestant denominations. Such as—

<sup>1</sup> *Profion Hanesiol o Awduraeth a Throsglwyddiad Llyfrau y Testament Newydd*. Published at Carnarvon by H. Humphreys in 1884.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Julian's *Hymnology*, p. 1184. *Notable Welshmen*, by Rev. Mardy Rees, p. 339.



" Father I know that all my life  
Is portioned out for me, etc."

" My heart is resting, O my God,  
I will give thanks and sing ;  
My heart is at the secret source  
Of every precious thing, etc."

" Go not far from me O my Strength,  
Whom all my times obey ;  
Take from me anything Thou wilt,  
But go not Thou away ;  
And let the storm that does Thy work  
Deal with me as it may, etc."

Her tender strains find an echo in every devout heart. With " passive trust " she stayed herself on everlasting strength. " A life of self-renouncing love " was to her a " life of liberty." The note of thanksgiving was always struck by Miss Waring. It was sounded at the close of the year ; and again when the New Year dawned she greets it with a song—

" Thanksgiving and the voice of melody  
This New Year's morning call me from my sleep.  
A new, sweet song is in my heart for Thee,  
Thou faithful, tender Shepherd of the sheep." etc.

In 1850 her *Hymns and Meditations* were published, and passed through several editions. She contributed to the *Sunday Magazine* in 1871. Choice diction, concentrated thought, and simplicity mark her productions. *Vide* Julian's *Hymnology*, p. 123.

Samuel Miller Waring (1792—1827), uncle of Anna L. Waring, published in 1826 his hymns in a volume of *Sacred Melodies*. The following poem appeared in the *Cambrian Weekly*, Swansea, Jan. 5, 1828, from the pen of S. M. Waring :

#### THE TEAR.

" 'Tis tender joy ! Hast thou seen it start  
Through fair young eyes from a warm young heart ?  
'Tis spray in an ocean's mystic roar,  
A far-coming wave has cast it ashore ;  
Ah ! who that billow shall call by name ?  
Or fathom the deep from whence it came ?  
'Tis essence exhaled from a spirit that lies  
In the furnace wherein heaven purifies ;  
A drop that clings to the vessel of clay  
Ere it higher rise and dissolve away."

William Weston Young (1776—1847)<sup>1</sup> was a wonderful man, both physically and mentally, a kind of " admirable Crichton." He could write prose and poetry, paint on

<sup>1</sup> Born at Bristol, 20, iv., 1776, and died at Bewdley, Worcs., in 1847.

canvas and china, survey land, and lift a blacksmith's anvil of several hundredweights, was an inventor, and discoverer of the Dinas sand for the making of a superior fire-brick. In 1835 he published a *Guide to the Beauties of Glyn Neath*, which contains beautiful coloured plates—"the drawing, etching, and colouring all done by my own hand." *The Christian Ladies Pocket Book* for 1833, with two views at Aberdylais, published in London in 1832, was by him in all probability.

He kept a diary,<sup>1</sup> portions of which have been published by William Turner in his *Ceramics of Swansea and Nantgarw* (1897). We find in the diary how energetic he was in mind and body—one day in Swansea, the next in Cardiff, and the day after painting at Nantgarw.

His letter to the *Cambrian Newspaper*, Swansea, 19 Oct., 1822, reveals the profound interest he took in the art of painting upon china. In order to foster this he made great sacrifices. In a letter which appeared in the month of June of the same year we have proof of his scientific knowledge, for he discovered how to consume the smoke of the copper works at Swansea.

He wrote a thrilling account of an adventure he had on sea in 1794. On 8, viii., 1794, he embarked at Bristol for America on board an American ship called *Severn*, with thirty other passengers. A French fleet of fifteen ships overtook them and captured the *Severn* and all hands. They suffered cruel treatment from the French. Weston Young reflectively records that adversity, "if received with humility gives peace to the soul." On board he made wooden spoons for gentlemen prisoners to eat their soup. He was determined to escape from the French ship, and communicated his decision to the captain of the *Severn*, also a prisoner. Divested of clothing he tied his stocking, which contained his watch and money, about his head, slid into the water and swam a mile in the direction of an American ship. Having gone some distance the stocking slipped, and failing to replace it swam with it in his hand. The contents, however, worked their way out and were lost. His thoughts were mixed, but his trust in God wavered not. The situation was dangerous in the extreme; far from friends, far from his native land, without clothes or money, with the darkness of night spread over him. Every wave threatened to overwhelm him, and he was in the midst of enemy ships, open to be fired at if seen, or taken back as prisoner to the ship.

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<sup>1</sup> In 1801 Young was appointed one of the trustees for old burial grounds in Glam., and Carm. counties.

His words deserve attention: "I looked up to God, able and willing to deliver even to the uttermost all those who put their trust in Him, for although dangers surrounded me and darkness covered me, yet was I not forgotten of Him, whose eye is over all His works, and without whose knowledge a sparrow falls not to the ground." The first transport he reached was from the West Indies with prisoners on board. This he left, and swam to an American ship about a quarter of a mile away. Was ever a more thrilling swim for liberty recorded than this? The man of genius, as well as his intimate friends, when a speculation of his proved unsuccessful, said: "Ha! the wrong end of the stocking again." Dean Swift began to be a satirist when, as a boy, he failed to land a big fish. Weston Young preserved his optimism despite the loss of his stocking and a long series of losses. His was a life full of romance, and striving after lofty ideals. Like many discoverers he was ahead of his times.

In his interesting diary he informs us that he acted as surveyor when the Neath Canal was constructed; that he invented a glaze for china, and a method of driving windmills horizontally; that he raised a sloop, *Anne and Teresa*, with a cargo of copper, sunk about two miles from Newton Nottage, where he lived at the time, 1806. He erected a beautiful tomb at Margam. He received the commission in 1814, but owing to the difficulty of getting the right stone for the figure, could not complete it till February, 1820. Weston Young was a pioneer of industries and a benefactor, but failed himself to reap the profit of his own discoveries. Wishing to help his generation, he undertook to explore for salt at Stoke Prior, in Worcestershire, where he was compelled to give up, in 1830, because of his utter impoverishment. Another man came on the scene and sunk the same shaft a few yards deeper, and found the brine.

The life story of William Weston Young is truly pathetic. In all his adversity he kept the faith, and ministered unto the needs of others. Confident of success, he induced Friends to join him in 1826 to develop the Gnoll Colliery, Neath. Thousands of pounds were lost, and Young was grieved for causing the loss.

His wife's diary furnishes many side-lights on the character of her husband. *The Christian Experience of Elizabeth Young* (1765—1842), member of the Society of Friends, written by herself, was published in 1843 by Harvey & Darton, London. The book breathes a holy fragrance, and records the chief events of the wedded life of two remarkable souls. Elizabeth

Young was the daughter of Robert and Hannah Davis, Minehead. Her marriage with William Weston Young, of Bristol, took place on 14, iv., 1795. Soon after they removed to Neath, and with the exception of three years in Worcester and five in Bristol, their married life was spent in Wales. Some of the entries reveal the atmosphere they breathed at home. In 1807 they removed to Newton Notage, near Porthcawl. "No Society of Friends here" we read. Trelawney, a large West Indiaman wrecked on Nash Sands. The vessel parted, but Weston Young and his crew saved twelve out of the sixteen on board. An entry in this year runs: "Made stewards over more of the world's goods." Land surveying and salving wrecks proved remunerative to Weston Young. It was art and exploration that impoverished him.

Elizabeth Young declared that they could move among the fashionable and worldly characters of Newton, but preferred retirement. Every First Day they observed morning and evening seasons of retirement for worship. In 1813 a Portuguese vessel was wrecked off the coast of Porthcawl, when Weston Young was again to the fore. Fruit from the wreck lined the shore. In 1829 they were settled again at Neath, at a place called "Fairy Land." Both husband and wife were greatly beloved for handsome action.

Lewis Weston Dillwyn, F.R.S. (1778—1855), father of British Botanists, Sketty, Swansea, contributed valuable works on Botany, Natural History, and Conchology. His father, William Dillwyn,<sup>1</sup> who had settled in Essex, was born in Philadelphia, of Quaker parents. Dillwyn (or Deulwyn in Welsh), was an old Breconshire family name. Dillwyn was of the same family as Ieuan Deulwyn (1460—1490), President of the Glamorgan Gorsedd in 1480. In 1699 (or before) his ancestor emigrated from Llangorse to Pennsylvania. His mother was Sarah, daughter of Lewis and Judith Weston. Lewis Weston Dillwyn was educated at a Friends' School, Tottenham. In 1801 his father bought the Cambrian

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<sup>1</sup> George Dillwyn (1738—1820), the brother of William Dillwyn, born 26, ii., 1738 (old style), in Philadelphia, Pa., was for some years engaged in mercantile pursuits. In 1778 he wrote to his brother William in England, who, the preceding year, by passport from General Washington, had left the troublous scene in Pennsylvania. Rebecca Jones was one of the passengers on board the *Commerce*, in which George Dillwyn and his wife made the voyage across the Atlantic, 1784. George Dillwyn was a minister, and in this capacity visited Wales. Buried at Burlington, West New Jersey, North America, 25, vi., 1820. A choice volume, *Gathered Fragments*, of G. Dillwyn, was published in London in 1858. He travelled in America, Great Britain, Ireland, and on the Continent.



China Pottery, Swansea, and the following year appointed his son directing-manager. Not long afterwards he married Mary, the daughter of John Llewellyn, of Penllergaer, near Llangyfelach. In 1802 he published the first part of his natural history, known as *British Conservee*, and the last part in 1809. *The Botanist's Guide through England and Wales* appeared in 1805 in two volumes, a joint production with Dawson Turner. The plan of this important work was due exclusively to Dillwyn. He began by noticing plants in his note book for his own use and amusement, quoting extracts from Ray, Withering, Waring, Blackstone, Deering, and Jacobs, and other early writers. His friends entreated him to publish his work for the general public, with the result that Dawson Turner and other notable botanists readily assisted. Nothing like the *Botanist's Guide* had appeared in England before, except, perhaps, Professor Martyn's *Herbationes* (annexed to his *Plantae Cantabrigiensis*); but even that was found inaccurate. Dillwyn explored out-of-the-way districts in South Wales, and found specimens of rare plants, which deeply interested British botanists. These were useful as denoting the soils, which could be used for improved agriculture or manufacture. The votaries of botany owe much to the pioneer work of Dillwyn. The Rev. Hugh Davies,<sup>1</sup> Beaumaris (1739—1821), assisted him with the *Flora of Anglesey*. He quotes also from Llwyd, Bingley, and Ray. In Cardiganshire, Dr. Smith was the chief contributor; while in Carmarthenshire, Dillwyn himself was the authority. The Rev. Hugh Davies and John Wynne Griffith were acknowledged in the *Guide* for their information regarding plants in Carnarvonshire. Ray, Pennant, Waring, and others are also quoted. Griffith is the chief authority for the specimens found in Denbighshire and Flintshire, but the names of Pennant, Davies, and others also appear. Dillwyn explored Glamorganshire and Pembrokeshire.

Quakers took interest early in botany, and those who travelled had an opportunity of comparing the plants of one county with another. The words of William Penn come with great force to our mind here: "It were happy if we studied nature more in natural things, and acted according to nature, whose rules are few, plain, and most reasonable. Let us begin where she begins, go her pace, and close always where she ends, and we cannot *miss of being good naturalists*." Dillwyn wrote the *Flora and Fauna of Swansea* for the

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<sup>1</sup> Author of *Arts and Sciences in Miniature*, 1811, Aberystwyth; and *Welsh Botany*, London, 1813.

British Association<sup>1</sup> in 1848. Beside his work as botanist he wrote *A descriptive Catalogue of Recent Shells* (two volumes), *Fossil Shells* (several volumes), *Index to Lister's Historium Conchyliorum*. Oxford offered him the degree of D.L.L. for this production, which he refused. Interested in the town of his adoption, he collected materials for the *History of Swansea*, which he published in 1840. He was President of the Royal Institution of South Wales during 1835-55, and occupied important offices, such as High Sheriff for Glamorgan county in 1818, and Member of Parliament for the county from 1832 till 1841. Died at Sketty Hall on 31 August, 1855, and in the same year his Biography appeared by "Soranus," M.D.<sup>2</sup> His uprightness of character and indefatigable services to science and the public good have made his name honourable in the annals of Wales and the Empire. His son, Lewis Llewelyn Dillwyn, M.P. (1814-1892), will be remembered as one of the Directors of the Great Western Railway, Chairman of the Glamorganshire Banking Company, and Member of Parliament for Swansea for thirty-seven years. In the great struggle for political freedom in Wales in 1868, he was one of the stoutest champions of Liberalism.<sup>3</sup> He took a deep interest in industries, and was closely associated with C. Siemens in the formation of the Landore Siemens Steel Company.

J. E. Southall, Newport, is the author of several books—*Memorials of the Prichards of Almeley and their Descendants* (1893), *Leaves from the History of Welsh Nonconformity* (1899), being Richard Davies's autobiography interspersed with Southall's own observations. A complete index to this classic is what the reader needs most. Southall has contributed several articles on Quaker subjects to the Journals of the Society of Friends, and has rendered service to Welsh literature by publishing historical and other works written by Welshmen.

Frederick J. Gibbins wrote interesting notes on Quakerism in Wales, and collected a number of rare and valuable books by Quaker writers. Several articles from his pen appeared in the *Friend* and other journals, as we have already observed in our account of Neath.

H. D. Phillips, journalist, of Llandrindod Wells, published a brief history, entitled: *The Early Quakers in Wales* in

<sup>1</sup> He was the friend of Sir Humphry David, Wollaston, Browne, and Sir Joseph Banks.

<sup>2</sup> Works referred to:—*Parl. Hist. of Wales*, p. 102, by Williams *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, xv. 90. Boase's *Mod. Biog. County Families of Wales*, Vol. II., p. 635, by Nicholas.

<sup>3</sup> *Byegones*, 1892, p. 335, and *Parl. Hist. of Wales*, p. 103.

connection with the Celebration of the 250th Anniversary of 1662—1912. Issued by the Welsh Free Church Council. He has also written several articles on Quakerism.

Job Roberts (1757—1851), a Quaker born near Gwynedd, now Montgomery, Pa., was a pioneer in agriculture. Several improvements were introduced by him. He was the first to bring and breed merino sheep in Pennsylvania. In 1804 he published *The Pennsylvania Farmer*. His integrity won the respect of all who knew him.<sup>1</sup>

Enoch Lewis (1776—1856), the son of a Quaker, born in Radnor, Del., co., Pa., 29 January, was a notable mathematician, who contributed valuable notes to several mathematical works which he edited. In 1827 he was appointed editor of the *African Observer*, and in 1847 *The Friends' Review* was entrusted to him. Among his published works are a "Life of Penn," "Oaths," "Baptism," and "Vindication of the Society of Friends." Died 14 June, 1856, at Philadelphia.<sup>2</sup>

John Richter Jones (1803—1863), Judge of Court of Common Pleas in Philadelphia (1836—47), published his *Quaker Soldier* in 1858 in Philadelphia. Judge Richter Jones was a fine classical scholar. The Septuagint version of the Old Testament, which he daily perused, was found on his person at the time of his death, 23 May, 1863.<sup>3</sup>

Ellis Lewis (1798—1871), born at Lewisberry, Pa., 16 May, began life as a printer, but rose to a position of high distinction as Jurist. His ancestor Ellis emigrated to Haverford, Pennsylvania, in 1708. Eli Lewis, his father, founded Lewisberry, which perpetuates his name, but owing to mismanagement Ellis, his son, had to work at a printer's office for some time. At the age of twenty-four he entered a solicitor's office and rose rapidly. In 1851 Lewis was elected Justice of the State Supreme Court. In 1848 he published *An Abridgment of the Criminal Law of the United States*. Died 19 March, 1871, in Philadelphia.<sup>4</sup>

Abel Charles Thomas (1807—1880), born at Exeter, Pa., was the grandson of the Quaker preacher Abel Thomas. He was the author of the Lowell Tracts (1840—2) along with Thomas B. Thayer. Among his published books were *Allegories and Daydreams*, 1841; *Hymns of Zion*, 1839; *Gospel Sermons*, 1857; and *Autobiography*, 1851. He became minister of Universalist Church, Lombard Street, Pa.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Appleton's *Amer. Biog.*, Vol. V., p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> Do., Vol. III., p. 703.

<sup>3</sup> Appleton's *Biog.*, Vol. III., p. 464.

<sup>4</sup> Do. Vol. III., p. 703.

<sup>5</sup> Appleton's *Biog.*, Vol. VI., p. 77.

## VIII.

## Quakers and Industries in Wales.



THE part played by Quakers in the development of industries in Wales is a romantic chapter. Many of them were enterprising pioneers in brass-making, iron and copper smelting. Some became leather merchants, china manufacturers, makers of chemicals, and tin, etc. Useful industries witnessed a remarkable renaissance when the storms of early persecution were passed. As business men, they were courageous and persistent, and as masters, humane and respected. They imparted a new meaning to labour, and crafts and industries became more honourable. If possible the Quaker master preferred workmen of his own persuasion, and the result was splendid workmanship. "In labour is gain," says an old Welsh proverb, and the industry of Quakers confirms the dictum. Briefly, we shall review the connection of some notable Friends with certain industries in the Principality.

## PONTYPOOL IRON WORKS.

Richard Hanbury, of Pontypool, grandson of Capel Hanbury, the first founder of the iron-works<sup>1</sup> in that town, was an iron-master of great repute. He entertained George Fox in 1657, and in 1667 joined the Society of Friends. Hanbury was a man of strong character, and a tower of strength to the cause at Pontymoil, in whose burial ground his remains were interred in 1695.

In the *Monthly Visitor* for September, 1800—a periodical which published contributions from Southey, Cottle, Kirk White, and other young *literati* of the age—a poem appeared by Thomas Thomas, of Pontypool, on the "Rise and Progress of the Ironworks in that Town and vicinity," which contains pleasing passages and historic facts about the Hanburys.

"I'll send my son a Worcester scion true,  
Him kindly treat, adopt him for your own,  
He'll lead your sons to deeds of high renown.

Your name emblazon in the book of fame,  
Then bowed the maid, when lo! a Hanbury came."

<sup>1</sup> The conveyance deed, dated 1565. *Hist. of Mon.*, by Cox, p. 206.



Pontypool was noted for its "Osmond iron" in the days of the Quaker, out of which wire was made for carding-combs. Foreign wire had been forbidden by Charles I., in 1630, and "Osmond iron, a native commodity of the Kingdom," was recommended by him. The poet says that the iron rod was made into "ringlets of fine wire."

The iron-forge of Hanbury was at "The Glyn," or, as known to-day, "Old Trosnant." He also had a forge at Cwm-ffrwd-oer, Pontnewynydd. The first Hanbury planted several iron-works in Wales, and was manager of the wire-works at Tintern. His descendants confined themselves more to Pontypool, where they prospered exceedingly. Hanbury the Quaker was the father of Pontypool town in a special manner.

### THOMAS ALLGOOD, JAPANNER.

In 1660, he introduced into Pontypool, Thomas Allgood, of Northampton, the celebrated manufacturer of Japan ware. Pontypool Japan acquired fame throughout the world. The specimens which remain are as glossy now as when they came from the furnace. Thomas Allgood was a Quaker, and worshipped at Pontymoile, where he was buried 5, viii., 1716.<sup>1</sup> Although only an artizan he was a great discoverer, and his knowledge of chemistry was unique. He devised the means of manufacturing copperas, an article still in great demand for mixing with oil-colours, also a process for extracting oil from Cannel coal. His discoveries, however, have undergone modifications with the advance of Science. His fame rests chiefly upon his secret process for making Japan ware, which was artistic as well as serviceable. Iron sheets were lacquered and converted into works of art. The lacquer could stand the test of fire, and in this respect was superior to that made in Birmingham. An interesting episode is related in the Pontypool local Register of a test of snuff-boxes—all made by "Old Billy Allgood"—and the other by a Birmingham firm. When Allgood suggested placing the snuff box in the fire, his rival confessed that he was beaten, for the glaze would not stand heat.

Edward Allgood, son of Thomas, greatly improved his father's patent. If tradition be credited with belief, the son discovered for his father, in a Japan works at Woburn, Bedfordshire, the ingredient called "ley," which baffled them for some time. The grandson of the founder, William Allgood, travelled in Germany, and acquired a more thorough

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<sup>1</sup> Register 1650—1838 Hereford, Worcester, and Wales, at Devonshire House.

knowledge of the trade, whereby he brought the works to their highest point of perfection. The superior hardness and lasting polish of Pontypool Japan are the envy of modern manufacturers. The secret died with the last member of the family, a lady, in 1848. In 1820, a nephew—Hughes,<sup>1</sup> of Mynydd Islwyn, who had been initiated into the mystery by his uncle William, founded a Japan manufactory at Usk, but the quality was much inferior to that of Pontypool. Sheets of Osborn iron were used at the Japan house where they were varnished and painted. The place is still known as "Old Japan" in West-place, which has two entrances from Crane Street. Benjamin Barker, father of Thomas Barker, R.A., Bath, was foreman and enamel painter of animals at the Japan works about 1769.

Anne Allgood, of Panteg parish, the wife of Edward Allgood, junior, a Quaker, was buried at Pontymoile, 27, xii., 1741.<sup>2</sup>

### COALBROOKDALE IRONWORKS.

Abraham Darby, of Coalbrookdale, was the son of a farmer, John Darby, near Dudley. He served his apprenticeship with a malt-mill manufacturer at Birmingham. He began business at Bristol, and sometimes visited Holland for commercial purposes. During one of his visits he became interested in brass manufacture, and brought back with him half-a-dozen craftsmen, and started a brass foundry in Bristol. Darby thought he could make iron castings in sand-moulds and experimented, but failed. John Thomas, a Welsh lad, who had observed the experiments in iron castings, told his employer: "I think I see how they have missed it." The baffled but genial Quaker said: "Well, my lad, thee shall try." That evening Darby and the Welsh lad tried, and as a result of the youth's skill they cast an iron pot. The master exclaimed: "Now thou hast done it, thee and I must work together," and they began at Coalbrookdale. In 1730, his son, Abraham, succeeded in the management, assisted by John Thomas. He was again followed by his son, Abiah Darby, who helped to make the iron-works known throughout the world.

### DOLOBRAN IRONWORKS AND DOLGYN.

Charles Lloyd, Dolobrân (1662—1747), built an iron-works not far from his Hall in 1719. The enterprise proved a failure owing to the excessive cost of transit. His nearest market

<sup>1</sup> *Notable men and women of Gwent*, M.S. work by Mardy Rees.

<sup>2</sup> Register already quoted at Devonshire House.

seemed to have been in South Staffordshire, whither the iron was carted.<sup>1</sup> John Kelsale, who acted as clerk of the iron-works there, has interesting entries in his diary about the forges at Dolobrán and Dolgyn. Charles Lloyd, in 1728, had lost £16,000, and by an Act of Parliament he was permitted to sell a part of the Dolobrán Estate.

The brothers Payton, of Dudley, Quaker ministers, owned forges in Wales—at Dolgyn, Merionethshire, and Hanfread (Llan——), near Aberystwyth.

John Kelsale records how he met at the fair, Welshpool, on 30, iv., 1729, Henry Payton, of Dudley, who offered him the post of clerk at Dolgyn, at a salary of £30 a year. He set out for Dolgyn on the 10th of the following month, calling at Cann office, and baiting at Mallwyd. On arrival at 4 p.m. he found Henry Payton and young John Buttle. Kelsale went to Payton's furnace the next day, and in the afternoon proceeded to Dolgelley, where he met Robert Jones and others, who gave him a very great welcome. In the evening he returned to Dolgyn. On the 12th he agreed with Lewis Owen to carry 200 tons of red ore from Llinder to the furnace at 3/- a ton. He describes how the great ladies of Nannau and Cors-y-gedol Mansions, together with Evan Vaughan, Robert Wynne, and friends, visited the forge on the 24, xi., 1731, to see the casting of iron, where they remained for several hours.

#### DISCOVERY BY DARBY OF COALBROOKDALE.

Iron and copper smelting denuded the countryside of its trees, which were cut down for charcoal. The Government had forbidden the cutting down of trees in some districts, notably near the Thames. This measure drove many captains of industry into Wales, where their trade flourished for many years.<sup>2</sup> However, the supply of timber was not limitless. Abraham Darby, of Coalbrookdale, conducted experiments at his forge with coal instead of charcoal, and in 1733 discovered that smelting could be done with pit coal. This discovery made by the Quaker iron-master in a short time revolutionized the iron industry, for it was cheaper and less laborious. He treated the coal even as charcoal burners treated wood. Other well-known ironmasters were R. L. Harford, of Ebbw Vale, who lived at Nantyglo, and

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<sup>1</sup> His brother, Sampson Lloyd, who began as iron merchant in Birmingham, was most successful.

<sup>2</sup> The first Richard Hanbury, "goldsmith," came to Monmouthshire because of this law.

was clerk for many years to the Half Yearly Meeting ; also John Harford, of Melin-Griffith, in the parish of Whitchurch, near Cardiff. These two and Thomas Biggs, of Morriston, copper agent, were among the trustees appointed at the Half Yearly Meeting at Brecon, 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> of the viii.<sup>th</sup>, 1801, to take charge of the burial grounds at Loughor, Bryn Maen, and Caenewydd, because the old trustees were deceased.

### TIN WORKS.

"Tinning" was tried in several places, but the first successful tin-works in Wales was founded by one of the Hanburys at Pontypool, early in the eighteenth century. Quakers have been connected with the manufacture of tin ever since in South Wales. Nathaniel Miers,<sup>1</sup> who had married out of the meeting, came to Wales and erected a mill at Ynisgyrwn, in the Vale of Neath. His daughter Molly married for her second husband, Capel Leigh Hanbury, of Pontypool Park.

At the present time the Gibbins, brothers, of Neath, Player, of Clydach, and Miers, of Ynispenllwch, are well-known captains of the tin industry. F. W. Gibbins, Garthmor, Neath, sold in 1922 the "Eagle Tin-works" to Baldwins Ltd. Theodore Gibbins is managing director of the Melin Works, Neath.

### CHEMICAL WORKS.

The Chemical Works at Melincryddan, Neath, were owned by Quakers—Bevington and F. J. Gibbins, his brother-in-law. They supplied the acids for tin and kindred works in South Wales for many years.

### FIRE-BRICK.

William Weston Young, of Neath, discovered in 1821 that a superior kind of fire-brick could be made out of silica, found at Dinas Rock, Pont Neath Vaughan. The discovery proved good for industry, but not profitable to Young himself. An agreement was signed by Young and D. Morgan, Ironmonger, Neath, 2 Feb., 1822, that no one was allowed to make brick such as Young invented without his consent. In October, 1822, Young and Allen became tenants of the Marquis of Bute at Dinas, and the Marquis himself visited the spot with Weston Young on the 18th of that month.

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<sup>1</sup> Nathaniel Miers died in 1782. He is referred to as a resident of Richmond and Neath, S. Wales.



The Dinas fire-brick was used in Siemens & Bessemer converters, because of its heat-resisting quality. It became known in France, Germany, Russia, North and South America. John Matthew Young, a relative, acquired the taking in 1842.

In 1825, another Quaker, John Player, and a number of Friends worked the Dinas Brick Manufactory. Another Neath Quaker, William Harries, had a small fire-brick industry on the quay. The silica clay was brought to Neath from his farm at Ystrad Fellte. Large works by another company now stand on the site of the old kilns near the Neath river.

### LEATHER.

The Redwoods of Neath erected a large building near the river bridge (still standing, a conspicuous landmark, and known as the "White House," six storey high) for the manufacture of leather. They supplied the whole area of South Wales with leather, well known for its good quality.

### NEATH ABBEY ENGINEERING WORKS.

The Neath Abbey Engineering Works owned by Quakers became known throughout the British Empire for their locomotives, pumping engines, and marine-engines. About 1798 Fox and Price, of Falmouth,<sup>1</sup> both Quakers, leased the Neath Abbey Coal and Iron Works from Lord Dynevor, and in a short time developed both industries, and made them exceedingly successful. Castings for the first iron works at Tredegar, Monmouthshire, were moulded there, and taken by road, via Abergavenny and Crickhowell, and then over the mountain to Tredegar. As many as fifty horses were used to haul these huge and heavy castings. Several pumping engines—the long arm style—are still working. Engines made at Neath Abbey were sent to all mining areas in Wales, and even to India and America. The Anglo Mexican and Neal del Monte mining companies placed orders for pumping engines at this place. Sir Benjamin Baker, the great engineer, served his apprenticeship at the fitting shops there; and David Thomas, Catasagua,<sup>2</sup> the "Father of the American iron trade," worked at the Abbey before emigrating to the States. Dr. Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, the notable Greek scholar, qualified as engineer at the same

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<sup>1</sup> Preface to *National Eisteddfod Prog.*, 1918, Neath, by Mardy Rees.

<sup>2</sup> *Notable Welshmen 1700—1900*, by Mardy Rees, pp. 227, 336.

works. Francis Taylor, foreman of the works, was buried at the Friends burial ground, Neath, also Joshua Richardson, a great civil engineer. The descendants of Francis Taylor own the Briton Ferry Engineering Works. Joseph Tregelles Price, the proprietor of the Neath Abbey Works, was one of the noblest Quakers of his day. If he detected a flaw in any piece of machinery it was immediately scrapped. Thus he built up the reputation of the firm. The craftsmen believed that the work of their hands, under the inspection of their beloved master, could not be surpassed anywhere, and their belief was correct, and readily acknowledged by engineers.

Considering that the number of workmen employed at Neath Abbey were never more than four hundred, and that the site was not the most accessible for business, we marvel that Price achieved such success. The works contained two blast furnaces for making iron from ore, one iron foundry for casting the various parts of engines and mill work, and an engine manufactory. Periodically, the workmen had an excursion to the iron-works at Merthyr, where they were popular for their integrity, honesty, and efficiency. The rival works at Merthyr increased, and Neath Abbey waned, partly because of its isolation, and partly because of the passing of its Quaker proprietor. Several steamships were built at Neath Abbey.

In 1804, castings for the West Pier Lighthouse, Swansea, were made at the Abbey Works. Mr. Jernagen was paid £10 10s. 0d. by the Harbour Trust, Swansea, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> Sept. that year "for his drawings and five journeys to Neath Abbey Foundry on account of the Lighthouse erected on the Western Pier.<sup>1</sup>"

The engines of the *Glamorgan*, the first steam packet for Swansea, plying between that port and Bristol, were constructed at Neath Abbey in 1823.<sup>2</sup>

The first iron ship to go round the Horn was built there, also *La Serena*, of 550 tons burden. *Ellen Bates*, of 1750 tons came from the same yard. The Prices of Neath Abbey for some years turned out the largest ships in the country.

## COAL.

The Quaker proprietors of the Neath Abbey Iron-works were pioneers in the coal industry in South Wales. They employed Edward Martin of Swansea to act as coal prospector

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Port of Swansea*, by W. H. Jones, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> A copy of an old print of the *Glamorgan* appeared in the *Cambria Daily Leader*, Swansea, March 1, 1923.

in order to supply the needs of their forges. On his recommendation they decided to sink a pit at Bryncoch, about a mile away, after obtaining a lease from Mrs. Maria Williams, of Dyffryn, on whose estate the taking lay. The lease was granted to George Crocker Fox and Peter Price, in 1806, for a period of sixty-three years. Bryncoch was the first deep pit in the country—about two hundred yards deep. Joseph Tregelles Price, the son of Peter Price, had charge of the mining operations, and was a popular master. Welshmen were proud to say that they “worked under the Quakers.” He who was foremost in the coal industry, was also foremost in peace propaganda and religious service. Bryncoch was a bold adventure, but its success brought other captains of industry into the Welsh coalfield, and the romance of South Wales steam-coal is known the world over. The necessity of the Quaker firm opened the treasure house of nature, and employment was provided for hundreds of men.

#### THE CAMBRIAN CHINA POTTERY, SWANSEA.

Quakers became owners of the celebrated Swansea and Nantgarw China Potteries, and in their time the most beautiful pieces of porcelain were made. William Dillwyn, of Walthamstow, a Quaker, born in Philadelphia, bought the Cambrian Pottery, Swansea, from George Haynes in 1807, and placed his son, Lewis Weston Dillwyn, in charge the following year. L. W. Dillwyn engaged George Haynes as his manager, and William Weston Young, of Aberdylais, Neath, as painter and decorator. Weston Young and his wife left Aberdylais for Swansea on the 21, 1, 1803. In 1810 Haynes left, and the brothers Bevington were appointed managers. In 1817 the Bevingtons became proprietors. In 1814 L. W. Dillwyn,<sup>1</sup> disgusted with two runaway potters from Worcester, transferred his interests in the Cambrian to Roby, Bevington, & Company, and retired to Penllergaer to pursue his botanical studies. His wife Mary was the daughter of John Llewelyn, Penllergaer. The Ceramic Department of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, has just issued a booklet, entitled: *Analysed Specimens of English Porcelain*, from the pens of the experts, Herbert Eccles, F.C.S., and Bernard Rackham. Here we find an explanation why Dillwyn left the Cambrian Pottery.

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<sup>1</sup> In the Swansea Museum a copper token may be seen, payable at the Cambrian Pottery, bearing names of L. W. Dillwyn and T. and J. Bevington.

Samuel Walker, one of the runaway potters, the other being his father-in-law, William Billingsley, was threatened with a law-suit by his old firm at Worcester, Flight, Barr & Barr, for breach of contract. "We are told [letter dated Worcester, Nov. 12, 1814] that you are about forming some sort of connection with a person of the name of Young, and also with Messrs. Dillwyn & Bevington, Potters of Swansea, and that you are to make for them a composition, the principles of which are similar to the one for which we paid you a high premium," etc. For this breach of confidence the Worcester firm claimed £1000 fine.

Dillwyn's note-book, containing valuable recipes for porcelain bodies and glazes<sup>1</sup> (1815-17), was presented by John Campbell, Esq., in 1920, to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Many of the artists engaged at the Cambrian Pottery were of Quaker origin. Weston Young, already mentioned, was a genius as decorator of porcelain. The views which he painted on the Swansea ware were chiefly sketched in the beautiful Vale of Neath, where he lived for some years. Dillwyn employed him to illustrate some of his works on botany as well as china.

William Pollard, the son of Joseph Pollard,<sup>2</sup> a Quaker minister who lived at Landore, born 8 Sept., 1803, was one of the best known painters on Swansea china. He was articled to a solicitor at first, and was wont to cover parchments with sketches. His employer recommended him to see a drawing-master, and his first lessons were received from an artist at the Cambrian Pottery. In a short time he excelled all in painting what was locally known as the "Burrows Rose," also called "Burnet Rose." His lovely roses seem to revel in their existence on the bevels of the old plates.

William Pegg (1775-1851), a native of Derby, was another remarkable flower-painter. His convincement took place at Swansea. He laboured under the impression that he was not fulfilling his religious duty by painting material objects.

Hannah Bevington (d. *circa* 1880), daughter of Timothy Bevington, was a fine artist, and painted on china for her father.

Such was the skill of the Swansea potters that a Sevres plate was sent from London for others to be made like it. When the order was despatched, the owner of the sample

<sup>1</sup> *Vide Analysed Specimens of English Porcelain*, 1922, pp. 44-50.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Pollard could preach in Welsh. He and Job Thomas seemed to be the only two who could.



plate asked that it should be returned, not knowing that it was included among the others. The expert could not tell the difference.

### NANTGARW CHINA POTTERY.

The first proprietor of Nantgarw was William Billingsley, with whom worked his son-in-law, Samuel Walker, the discoverer of a secret method of composing porcelain. Like the pottery which they left in Worcester, Nantgarw was built near a canal. The founders were unsuccessful, and in 1819 Weston Young, of Neath, bought the pottery, and sold it again in 1822.<sup>1</sup> William Pardoe was his chief man.<sup>2</sup> Frequent entries are found in Young's diary—"Painted to-day at Nantgarw." Young invented an appliance whereby breakages during the burning process were considerably reduced. The specimens which remain of the Nantgarw china are exquisitely beautiful, and in some respects remain unrivalled. Young sought to form a company in Bristol for china-making, stating that he was confident of success, and that he could surpass even Nantgarw china; but nothing came of the project. In 1838 he endeavoured to interest the London Pottery Company (Pellet & Green) in a fresh undertaking, declaring that there was no china in the country like Nantgarw, which he had given up. "Success depends on getting the very best," said he, but this proposal also fell to the ground.

### COPPER TRADE, SWANSEA.

Swansea, the metallurgical capital of the world, with its 150 furnaces for the treatment of different ores has been the scene of Quaker enterprise for over two centuries. The Copper trade was carefully fostered by Silvanus Bevan, James Griffiths, Pollard, and others in the early part of the eighteenth century.

On January 1st, 1923, the business of Henry Bath & Sons, as far as wharfaging and warehousing are concerned, was closed at Swansea. Henry Bath founded the business there in 1820, although he had commenced at Falmouth in 1794. The Swansea Corporation granted him a lease of the copper ore yard on 15 January, 1822. After a century of great activity the passing of the Quaker firm of Bath commands attention. Offices still exist in London and Birmingham. The name of Bath was inseparably connected with the copper

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide Ceramics of Swansea and Nantgarw*, by W. Turner, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> *Billingsley and Pardoe*, by J. Ward, 1896.

trade in Swansea and South America. In 1800 the firm owned one sloop, *Mary*, and one schooner, *Active*, with Falmouth as home port. After coming to Swansea the fleet of ships, with flag of blue and Maltese cross as emblem, gradually increased. From Fennimore Cooper's novels and the Greek alphabet the following names were used for the ships of Henry Bath & Sons:—*La Serena*, *Deerslayer*, *Pathfinder*, *Scout*, *Hawkeye*, *Mohican*, *Uncas*, *Delaware*, *Alpha*, *Beta*, *Gama*, *Delta*, *Epsilon*, *Zeta*, *Eta*, *Theta*, *Iota*, *Kappa*, *Havre*, and the *Great Eastern*.<sup>1</sup> The last named was bought to be broken up. The white-washed houses where the founder<sup>2</sup> commenced a century ago stand near the North Dock, also offices of later erection.

During this period of wonderful achievement the firm was known for its business integrity and reliability. The Baths for five generations have been closely associated with the social life of Swansea. Henry Bath, the founder, flourished 1776—1844. His son, Henry Bath, 1797—1864. Henry James Bath died in 1876, and Charles Bath, his brother, once Mayor of Swansea, died in 1888. Edward Henry Bath, son of Edward Bath, died in 1920.

The White Rock Copper Works on the eastern side of the river Tawe, opposite Hafod, Swansea, were owned by Quakers. James Griffiths, who was the head of these works in 1726, married the daughter of Silvanus Bevan, the Quaker, of Swansea.

The Llangyfelach Copper Works on the banks of the Tawe belonged in 1717—20 to Dr. Lane and his relative Pollard. The name of Pollard has been prominent in connection with the Quaker cause at Swansea. Bevan endeavoured to extract copper and iron from old copper slag in the Swansea district in 1814 at Nanrthydyfilais Works. The Rose Copper Works were managed by Thomas Bigg in the early part of last century. Landore Copper Works were in the hands of Henry Bath & Co. in 1825, and in 1881 Edward Bath supervised the Port Tennant Copper Works.

William Phillips, the husband of Catherine Phillips,<sup>3</sup> the Quaker minister, was copper agent in Swansea and Cornwall.

<sup>1</sup> This ship had a chequered career, and after the laying of the Atlantic cable, was visited by thousands in the Bristol Channel.

<sup>2</sup> The copper trade was introduced into the Swansea and Neath district in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when Thomas Smyth, customer to the Queen, engaged Ulrick Frose to melt copper ore. "With two furnaces I could melt 560 tons of ore in 40 weeks," wrote Frose from Neath to his employer. Vide Grant Francis's work on *Copper Trade in Swansea district*.

<sup>3</sup> Catherine Phillips had a meeting one First day in 1778 at White Rock Copper Works.

Quakerism in certain districts has been a kind of family history. The Baths of Swansea, the Prices, Gibbins, Warrings, and Redwoods of Neath, the Bevingtons of Cardiff, Redwoods of Boverton, Jacksons of Llanfaes, Darbys of Coalbrookdale, and others that might be named. These families have not only been centres of light and leading, but also centres of industrial activities.

Quakers were conspicuous pioneers in the development of the port of Swansea, the canals, and railroads of the district. Henry Habberley Price wrote reports on the Swansea harbour. His second report appeared on 31, viii., 1827. In 1831 he submitted a scheme illustrating how the principle of a float could be used by the Harbour Trust with advantage. The Trust had offered a premium of £200 for the best scheme, and although several engineers sent in their schemes beside Price, we could not ascertain whether one was chosen. In 1804 the Prices of Neath Abbey Foundry and Dillwyn of Swansea were among the Quakers who provided material for the erection of the pier lighthouse at the entrance into the harbour. The Prices supplied castings, and Dillwyn the alabaster, etc.

Miers, Eaton, Young, and others were interested in the Swansea Valley Canal and the Neath Valley Canal. Ruins of old furnaces owned by Quakers may be still seen at Melin-court, near Resolven, and Ynisedwyn.

### WHALE FISHERY AT MILFORD.

I recall with pleasure a visit to Milford Haven at Eastertide some years ago. Bathed in sunshine the town looked superb facing the magnificent expanse of blue water. The mental picture acquired then has been a source of genuine delight. No wonder Shakespeare<sup>1</sup> called it "blessed Milford," and said: "By the way tell me how Wales was made so happy as to inherit such a haven." Whilst there I visited Hakin, where Henry Tudor, afterwards Henry VII. (the young Earl of Richmond), landed in 1485, whence he proceeded, accompanied by Rhys ap Thomas and a great host of his fellow countrymen, to Bosworth Field. The foundations of the great British Empire were laid on that memorable day, when Henry routed the usurper Richard III.

My mind wandered back to 1588, when the Spanish Armada was expected to attempt a landing at Milford Haven. Truly Milford calls up many stirring events, but nothing can be more stirring or romantic than the story of how

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<sup>1</sup> *Cymbeline*, Act III., Sc. II., lines 59, 60, 61.

whaler-Quakers from Nantucket, America, built the town of Milford from the ground.

Romans, during their occupation of Wales, passed Milford in spite of its natural harbour. The Welsh themselves never attempted to build much upon the inviting shore. The Haven, "where the whole British Fleet could ride at anchor," as the old geography book had it, waited throughout the centuries till enterprising Quakers settled there and immortalized their names as town constructors. The tradition of how Milford sprang up was becoming less and less known, when Flora Thomas, who had access to old family documents, published her striking book, *The Builders of Milford*, in 1920.<sup>1</sup>

Pembrokeshire supplied America with many Quaker emigrants between 1682—1700, and in 1793 Quakers came across the Atlantic to found Milford. A brief sketch of the Starbucks and other Friends might prove instructive, in fact it is necessary in order to understand why they removed to Pembrokeshire. On the Island of Nantucket a number of Quakers settled from New England about 1659, having been driven thence by their unorthodox views on baptism. The leader of the brave band was Edward Starbuck. His wife Catherine, nee Reynolds, was Welsh. They had several children, some of whom were married when the parents left Dover, New Hampshire, for Nantucket. Edward Starbuck, a cordwainer by trade, held much land. He bought one-twentieth part of the Island of Nantucket, Mass., from the Indian chief, Saskan. Altogether there were twenty purchasers of the Island from the Indians—Mayhew, Coleman, Barney, Gayler, Hussey, Rotch, and others. They were of varied callings—one a blacksmith, another a glazier, another a mariner, and all to some extent whale-fishers. These Quaker settlers built the town of Sherborn on the island, and a meeting-house. Their prosperity was manifest to all.

The War of Independence brought ruin to the island of Nantucket, and the Quakers, because of their loyalty to Britain, had their vessels seized by the Americans, and their supplies from the main land were withheld. A deputation, consisting of Benjamin Tupper, Samuel Starbuck, and William Rotch, was appointed by the leading inhabitants to go in the sloop *Speedwell*, and set their critical case before Sir Henry Clinton, at New York, in April, 1779, but they failed to obtain a permit to make the voyage. Soldiers from armed vessels landed on the island, and pillaged oil and other stores. One Quaker (Hussey) lost £350 worth of goods in

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<sup>1</sup> Published by the *Pembrokeshire Telegraph*, Haverfordwest.



this way. They suffered privations for several years, not having any remedy in spite of continued appeals to the American authorities. At one time there were five thousand barrels of oil on the island. The Starbuck papers contain a detailed account of life on the island during the troublous times of war. Starbuck and Timothy Folger were mainly responsible for the neutrality of Nantucket. British cruisers, when all other ports were closed to them, were supplied with oil at Sherborn. Folger was captured in 1780 by a French man-of-war when sailing under a British license. Rather than declare himself against the King of England, this sturdy whaler said he would first die of want. On his return to Nantucket he found things worse than ever. In 1783, J. Parr, Governor of Nova Scotia, having heard of the importance and success of the whale fishery, sent a deputation from Halifax inviting the Nantucketers to bring their ships to that port and become British subjects. This appeared to be the only possible solution, therefore, more than forty families removed thither, and the Government bestowed a pension of £150 on Timothy Folger and his wife, and Samuel Starbuck and his wife, as long as they lived, and to the wives if they survived. This pension was in consideration of losses sustained by them during the War, and for services rendered. The sum of £2000 was voted to be distributed among the other families. Although the British Government had the whale fishery transferred from the American territory to Nova Scotia, it failed to act generously toward the patriotic Quaker fishermen. The lighting of the London streets by spermaceti oil was assured, but Nova Scotia was not equal to Sherborn. Whilst there Dartmouth was built. The Quakers were not satisfied with the exchange, and were casting about for other quarters. Milford was suggested as an excellent port for whale fishing, but France offered better facilities than England. One notable Friend removed thither, Rotch, who settled at Dunkirk, but certain members of the family removed to Milford, at a later period, as we shall observe.

The British Government was most eager to get the whale fishers to settle at Milford; and Samuel Starbuck, junior, came over as an investigator in 1791, and met Charles Greville, the agent of Sir William Hamilton, at Milford. Nova Scotia desired to keep the whalers at Dartmouth, and the London merchants who represented the province raised objections to their removal, but Greville took no heed, for he was determined if possible to bring them to Milford, and recommended their proposals to Pitt and the Privy Council.

Greville promised a thousand pounds worth of timber and

stone for the quarrying if they removed from Dartmouth, Nova Scotia. The Quakers arrived at Milford in the fall of 1793. The Starbuck and Folger couples were housed at Roboston Hall, about two and a half miles from Milford, and through the influence of Greville the pension was continued. Had the Government been prepared to grant the £2000 promised to the other Quaker families, in all probability, they would have come over also to Milford Haven.

The first thing after fixing on the accommodation for shipping was to build the quay. A man named Morgan, "a good mason, and one who has a character to lose," was engaged in 1793 for the work. A builder from Bristol named Jer-nigan was invited to view the situation before operations began, to fix a site for a brick kiln, and a quarry, where stone could be obtained for the quay and houses. Where Henry VII. landed in 1485 there the new quay was built, at Hakin.

How long the whale fishery lasted at Milford we are not certain. Bakeries were set up before the houses, for the fishermen had need of biscuit and ship bread for their calling far away from land.

Greville had a dream, and it was the laying out of a fine town at Milford. He was inexperienced, but the Starbucks had a tradition as town builders, first Sherborn, Nantucket, and then Dartmouth, Nova Scotia. Finally, Milford stands to perpetuate their memory.

Samuel Starbuck and Timothy Folger were expert whale catchers, and the sons of the former appear to have carried on the business for some years at Milford, but London became jealous of their success, and crippled the prosperous enterprise for which the port was so suitable. Robert Fulke Greville, who succeeded his brother, Charles Francis Greville (d. 1809), declared that the disappointments which happened to the Quaker settlers were attributable to the overpowering influence of the Capital. Fenton, the historian of Pembrokeshire, hoped that the whale fishing would be discontinued. Although deprived of the lucrative returns of spermaceti oil the Quakers succeeded in making a living with their bakeries, stores, and ships.

Milford is built after the plan of New York. An Act of Parliament was passed in 1790, which enabled Sir William Hamilton, and his heirs and assigns, to make docks, quays, market, and roads to the port, and to make Milford a station for mails to Waterford, which could not hitherto be taken beyond Haverfordwest.

In 1800, the stock of grain, barley, and rye, which Starbuck had at Milford, assisted the county materially in a time of great shortage. Distressed districts in North Wales were

also helped with rye meal from the Quaker store. The Quaker immigrants taught Welsh people the value of maize when food had to be rationed, early in the last century.

The first building begun, after the arrival of the Quakers, was the Inn, in 1795. This was opened in 1800, and is now known as the "Lord Nelson Hotel." Lord Nelson and the Hamiltons were the chief guests at a banquet there, 1 August, 1802. Nelson saw the advantages of Milford as a naval port. Disastrous delay might be caused by contrary winds at Gravesend, but from Milford he could get into the open sea immediately. In 1814 the dockyard was removed from Milford to Pater, now Pembroke Dock. The town is the centre of deep-sea fishing, and from its flotilla of trawlers London and other places are supplied with fish. The descendants of the Nantucket whalers, who gave such an impetus to the building of the town, have passed away, but their memory is fragrant as heroic constructors and loyal citizens. The names of the streets have also undergone a change. Originally they were called in American style—Front, Middle, and Back Street. Colonel Greville began the fashion of naming the streets after the members of his family. The oldest inhabitants alone remember their first names.

#### FINANCE.

The history of Barclays Bank Limited is an epitome of the evolution of British Banking, which extends over a period of two hundred years. Much of the ancient glamour and romance of the merchant adventurers is preserved in the great institution. From 1786 it has amalgamated other banking interests, but retains past traditions, which are blended with modern requirements. One reason for referring to Barclays Bank is the connection which Silvanus Bevan had with it. In 1786, Tritton and Bevan joined the Company, and the name was altered to Barclay, Tritton, Bevan, & Company, and retained until 1863, when another amalgamation took place.<sup>1</sup>

In the *Fortnightly Review* for April, 1923, T. H. S. Escott writes<sup>2</sup>—"The year 1768 (not 1786) brought in Silvanus Bevan, followed in 1782 by John Henton Tritton, and the firm began to be known as Barclay, Bevan, Tritton, & Company." James Barclay, whose name remains, was the grandson of the author of Quaker "Apology."

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<sup>1</sup> *The Board of Trade Journal and Commercial Gazette*, registered as a Newspaper, Feb. 8, 1923.

<sup>2</sup> Article entitled "The Silent Sectaries," p. 639.

Lloyd's Bank is another institution which bears the name of a Quaker—a Quaker of Welsh origin—Sampson Lloyd the second ; but inasmuch as we have supplied a short account of the founder in connection with Dolobrán, Montgomeryshire, we need not repeat the story here. However, like Barclay's Bank, Lloyd's has also increased its capital enormously, by absorptions of other banks, and its fame is world-wide.

Other notable founders of banks in South Wales were Robert Eaton and Joseph Gibbins, of Swansea, to whom we refer in our history of the meeting in that town. The early days of Quakerism in Swansea were turbulent, and none ever dreamed that members of the despised sect would become the purse-holders of the borough, and the promoters of its commerce.

The Milford and Haverfordwest Bank was founded by Quakers to meet the growing needs of Milford at the beginning of last century. The proprietors were Rotch, Phillips, and Starbuck. Rotch, the Nantucket Quaker, after a short stay at Nova Scotia with the whalers, who removed there as a result of the War of Independence, settled at Dunkirk rather than Milford, but later joined his old Friends at Milford. Afterward, his son followed him from France, where he was interested in the whale fishery. The Rotch family had considerable wealth, and therefore, used it to assist industries. The agent of the Milford Estate, R. F. Greville, writing from London to Samuel Starbuck, Milford, said : " I have received yours of the 23<sup>rd</sup> inst. announcing your having joined Mr. Rotch's son, Francis, and your Friends, S. L. Phillips and sons, of Haverfordwest, in opening a bank under the name of the Milford and Haverfordwest Bank, and to be known under the firm of Rotch, Phillips, and Starbuck. The acknowledged respectability of Mr. Levy Phillips' house gives encouraging prospects to the new concern, and combined now with this additional support, it will, no doubt, give confidence at a period peculiarly unsettled and alarming."



## IX.

### **Why Quakerism Declined.**



WHY did Quakerism fail to maintain its hold upon Wales, seeing that it spread so amazingly in the first fifty years of its history? To this important question there are several answers.

1. The passing away of the founder, George Fox, undoubtedly brought to a close the heroic age of the movement in the Principality. The enthusiasm which his personality created cannot be overstated. His journeys through Wales roused the whole country, for he was regarded as a prophet. Although thousands who heard him could not understand his language, nevertheless, they comprehended the meaning of his spiritual gospel. His was a tongue of Pentecost, and the Spirit interpreted to the sincere hearer the message of Truth which he proclaimed.

2. The exodus of so many thousands of Welsh Quakers to Pennsylvania robbed the country of its most energetic and most youthful recruits. Weary of persecution and longing for religious liberty, the heads of families emigrated with their children, believing that they would be allowed to govern themselves without interference from the State.

3. Worldly success militated against missionary propaganda. When Welsh Quakers were landowners, their persecutors knew exactly how to adapt their exactions unto their respective wealth, and many were cruelly impoverished. As time went on they became interested in industries, and their wealth took another form, which was not so accessible for seizure or assessment. Their word was accepted and business thrived. Some of them became pioneers and amassed fortunes, even in the midst of difficulties and sufferings. "Sobriety, industry, integrity, and thrift tended to make Quakers well-to-do, and they sought outlets for their savings as well as for their energies." Cobbett observed once, that "the Quaker gave himself to the accumulation of wealth with a step as steady as death, and a grip as close as the grave;" but this was a sarcastic observation and must not be taken literally. However, with the increase of material wealth, fervour for souls languished, and the cause waned.

4. Silent worship and absence of hymn-singing suit not the Welsh temperament, which is emotional and fervent. While in sympathy with the peace testimony of Friends, open

meetings, absence of a formal creed, the application of Christ's principles to life, and believing that religion and life are inseparable, and that emphasis must needs be placed upon the baptism of the Holy Spirit, nevertheless, the Welsh people are not attracted by the Quaker type of ministry. The Quaker witness is needed more than ever in the religious world—a witness against worldliness, greed, bitterness, strife, place-seeking, pleasure, and other inordinate phases of sinful lust. Could we but have a renaissance of the pure Quaker spirit without any of its ancient *dicta*, Wales would be enriched greatly in its religious life. True Quakerism is more exacting than Puritanism. It is Spartan in its demands, and its spiritual ideal can only be preserved by surrendering the tangible to the invisible. The other day I was told by the son of a noble Quaker: "We are, alas, more concerned with the money-markets than the propagation of Truth. Quakers have obeyed the commands of the gospel, except that *one* great command about laying up treasures."

5. Perhaps the chief cause of the failure of Quakerism to maintain its hold upon Wales is its disregard of the Welsh language. With few exceptions the movement has been English. It never created a Welsh literature. Few works are of Welsh origin. There may be Welsh translations, but Quakerism never learnt the Welsh language, or its career would have a different story to tell. John ap John used Welsh, and so did Job Thomas and Pollard, but since, Welsh has been neglected.

6. When Quakers were aggressive, and attacked sin hip and thigh, they succeeded, and became a power in the land; but when their message was toned down their presence was not so greatly felt. With the cessation of persecution they lost their savour in a certain sense. The Constitution excluded them from political life, and they excluded themselves from the realms of music and art, which meant a loss of influence. Such avenues enrich the soul, and afford an effective channel of soul-expression, and a denial of their ministry has robbed Quakerism of power which should have been its heritage. If the Quakers even at this hour had something on the lines of their Adult School, only in Welsh, their cause would witness a marvellous recrudescence. Their undenominational character would win many who at present go nowhere. The Merthyr School proved a huge success, and illustrates what might be done in other towns. The trend of the age is toward greater liberty, but thousands who frequent not the places of worship which exist would attend a Hall, provided they have the right diet—something

to make life more cheerful. Laymen must do more for the masses or they will drift into unbelief, and from this root spring anarchy and its ugly, poisonous offshoots. Quakerism even in Wales, if it is to be true to its original mission, must adapt itself to the needs of the times, and proclaim its gospel of personal and social redemption. Its province has been the Spirit, and it is the Spirit which is most wrong to-day.

7 and 8. Other causes of decline have been (*a*) the practice of disowning members who married out of the Society. This appears to be more a question of policy than principle, but its observance has deprived the Society not only of actual members, but of thousands of potential members, the children. (*b*) The coming of the Limited Liability Company has also worked adversely in the case of Quakerism. The old order of individual employers helped to spread the Truth and to make converts, but the new order of companies has no conscience and no gospel.

We conclude our work with the last words of Thomas Lloyd, in 1694: "Friends, I love you all . . . . I have fought, not for Strife and Contention, but for the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the simplicity of the Gospel." That simplicity is the highest perfection and the greatest challenge to men in all generations. May the Blessed One bless this record of Quaker witness.





## APPENDIX.

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### NO. I.—RHUDDALLT ISAF. CATHERINE, WIFE OF JOHN AP JOHN.

Edward ab Randle, of Rhuddallt Isaf. He married Anne, daughter (by Catherine his wife, sister of John ab Roger Broughton, of Dinhinlle Isaf, and daughter of Roger Broughton), of John ab John, of Dinhinlle Isaf. A native of Chirk Parish, by whom he had issue four daughters, co-heirs :

I. CATHERINE. She purchased her other sister's portions of their father's estate, and married, first, David ab Edward, of Trevor, by whom she had two children, Hannah, who died young, and one son, Richard Davies, of Rhuddallt and Trevor, living in 1697 ; who married Anne, daughter of John Barnes, of Warrington in Lancashire, by whom he had issue, two sons : Edward Davies and John Davies.

II. MARY.

III. ELIZABETH.

IV. SARAH EDWARDS, who married Thomas Hughes, of Pennant-y-Belan (see p. 182).

*The History of the Princes, the Lords Marchers, and the Ancient nobility of Powys Fadog*, by J. T. W. Lloyd, VI. Vols. (Vol. II., p. 351).

### NO. II. AN ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY THROUGH WALES.

BY JOHN PLAYER.

On the Second of the Eleventh Month 1753. That Worthy and Honourable Servant of God William Brown from Philadelphia Came to the Widow Youngs Accompanied by Richard Fry of Caln as Guide.

Mo. Mth. Week  
Days Days

- II. 4. 1. They had a Meeting in the Morning at Oloistone and in the afternoon at Thornbury—and
5. 2. The morrow was at the monthly meeting at Frenchay and after came and dined at my father's house when William Brown asked my Father if he was willing to give me up to accompany him thro' Wales who signifying his willingness I prepared for the Journey—and

Mo. Mth. Week  
Days Days

6. 3. The morrow met William Brown at Earthcot according to appointment (the evening before) and after Dinner being about the 1st hour afternoon we set forward on our journey Accompanied by the Widow (and John Bell and his wife from Melhsham) to the Severns side where after taking leave of each other we took boat and had a pretty quick passage and that evening went to Seth Waters house at Shearnewton and got notice sent for a meeting.
7. 4. The morrow about the Eleventh hour Friends met being but few and those of low estate in the world and living at some Distance made it gather Scattering the Hearts of some of whome seemed too much to resemble the Country they live in However as a means to make them more fruitful towards God they were recommended to a Diligent waiting on him and advised to hold a week day meeting which they promised to do on the 5th day as Usual. We got some dinner at an Inn and after rode to Pontypool, to Nathaniel Beadles's house—and
8. 5. The morrow had a meeting at Pontymoyle where good advice both to the preachers (there being a pretty many) and hearers were given and Acceptably received by some of both. We was here advised of a few persons living at Cardiff who have the tho'ts of Eternity often in remembrance my Companion having some drawings towards them and likewise to be at this place the Next first day.
- II. 9. 6. Resolved to go and See them—and  
The morrow being Accompanied with John Jones as Guide we set outward Caerdiff and got there about noon and got the Liberty of the town Hall and had a publick meeting therein at the 3rd hour afternoon there was a pretty many people and the way of truth was declared unto them, they behaved sober. Except some Children who was going in and out often the noise of who's feet made a great sound in so large a room, the people was attentive and staid to the end of the meeting which ended with a prayer I believe Acceptable to divers there, after this meeting was over we got an Opertunity with those that have seperated themselves from any society there and do meet by themselves on first-days as also on fifth-days and Sit often in silence (tho' there is a man who meets with them sometimes preaches to them in a forward way and wants to be paid for it which they can't comply with and therefore have some of them desired him to be still they Choosing rather to be in silence then to hear such a minister (from the practice

Mo. Mth. Week  
Days Days

11. 9. 6. of sitting in Silence) they are by the people Called Stillers)  
we had a Comfortable time with them when their States  
was pretty much Spoken to and they recommended to  
be still in themselves and be careful not to dispise the  
day of small things—we lodged at an Inn—and
10. 7. The morrow returned to Pontypool—and the next day
11. 1. being the first day we had two meetings at Pontymoyle  
and at the conclusion of the last we Had a conference  
with the friends Concerning Establishing a Women's  
Meeting for Discipline which there are some who are  
desireous to promote it, tho' in this place there is one  
of an Unsanctified Spirit who can Rule by His means  
and Speak fair words but Inwardly is full of deceit.
11. 12. 2. This day a meeting was by Appointment to be at Treverig  
at the 2nd hour afternoon We set out on our Journey  
thitheward accompanied by William Cooper as Guide  
where we got about 11th hour—to the House of John  
Bevan (a native of Pensilvania) tho, now he is become  
much of the Nature of the place where he lives (to wit  
stony and barren) we had a meeting at this place with  
the few professors a heavy meeting 'twas and in it those  
few was faithfully warned of their having Never wor-  
shipped God and advised to be Diligent and faithful  
for the future.
13. 3. The morrow being Guided by Morgan Harry one of those  
few at Treverig who spoke but little English to a Village  
Called St. Hillary were two maiden Sisters with another—  
young Woman of Cowbridge holds a Meeting in Silance,  
we got an Oppertunity with them and three or four Sober  
Neighbours much to our Satisfaction they were told of  
the benifit of true Silance and advised to keep to it as  
the means to know the will of the Father, the poor  
Creatures was Exceeding living I tho't they much re-  
sembled our worthy ancients in the beginning of this  
Gosple day we parted with them in great tenderness of  
Spirit and Set forward towards Swanzey where we got  
a little in the night we went to the house of James Griffith  
who received us kindly and was at their week day meeting
14. 4. the morrow a heavy meeting it was the Love of the  
world being Exalted among many of them from them  
the Love of the Father of which they were faithfully  
warned Our Landlord Informed us that there was a  
few Sober Inclined people at a Village about 3 miles  
to the West Called Newton whether we went the

Mo. Mth. Week  
Days Days

15. 5. morrow accompanied by Several friends and had a meeting it was a pretty open meeting, the way of truth was testified of and the way of Death laid open and Something dropt by way of Encouragement to Some present we returned to dinner and spent that evening in friendly conversation we had four meetings more at Swanzev which ware for the most part heavy, Notwithstanding the will of the Father was declared Concerning such as them plainly on the 7th day of the week dear and Honourable Friend John Churchman came here whose Company was pleasant and conversation profitable as well as his Doctrine Sound and lively he labouring much to divide the word Aright. This day we took leave of
11. 20. 3. our friends and set forward for Caermarthen Accompanied by William Reynolds of that place (who Came as
21. 4. Guide with J. C.) who took us to his house we had a meeting the morrow in this town with those few friends that are there to which came a few of the towns-people it was an open meeting and the power of truth was over it—The
22. 5. Morrow Set forward to Haverfordwest Accompanied by John Allen as Guide to the House of John Lewis and had
23. 6. a meeting there the morrow mostly friends it was a heavy meeting and some present was warned of their being only professors and—as Stumbling blocks in the way of others.
25. 1. On the first day was two meetings in the morning mostly friends it was a Clouded sort of a meeting and at last something by way of Encouragement was dropt to some present. In the afternoon was a full meeting of friends and others it was an Open meeting and truth was declared in—the Demonstration of it and with power the
26. 2. people was sober and behaved well during the meeting. After taking leave of our friends divers of whome was near us in the truth we set forward accompanied by a pretty many of them. to a place called Redstone where
27. 3. formerly was a very large meeting of friends but now reduced to one family (most of whome went to Settle in Pensilvania which Country has greatly thined most of the meetings in the principality) there were a pretty many sober people at the meeting we had at this place an Open and Heavenly meeting it was, and Something was dropt pointing out the danger some was in as well as by way of Encouragement to others.  
After this meeting we-went to a little market town Called Narbet and got some dinner and set on towards Newhouse (accompanied by David Williams and another Friend of



Mo. Mth. Week  
Days Days

27. 3. the same meeting who came to meet us at Redstone Narberth and one Webb was our Guide being hired as such by some friends at Harford where we got a little in the night).
28. 4. The morrow had a meeting at the meeting house at Jamestown there is but a very few friends belonging to this meeting a cloudy sort of a meeting 'twas till towards the last when something was dropt by way of Encouragement to some of those present.
29. 5. This day we set forward for Laughern with our Harford Hirelin where we got about the 2nd hour afternoon and was sent there by John Allen of Caermarthen we got a meeting here in the meeting house in the Evening but it being very cold there was but few people at it. (there being but one in Unity with friends in the town who was ill however it pleased the great Lord to Order something for them by way of Invitation they behaved Civil The morrow being advised that there was a woman of some
30. 6. Quality in this town who was much cried up for her piety and Charitable acts to the poor and for being a Zealous Christian my companion found freedom in his mind to see her and spend some time in Religious Conversation Accordingly John Allen went to know if it might be agreeable to her but she being Ingaged in morning prayer with her family Could not speak with her then, but in a little time after he spoke to her and she told him it would be very agreeable to her accordingly after we got some breakfast at our Inn and went and saw the Sick friend we went and saw her who received us with a great deal of fashionable freedom she was full of Brain knowledge being too wise to Learn of Christ and a thorough Bigot to the priests tho' at our parting she said she was much Obliged for the Visit and esteemed it as a favour. After we got us some dinner we Set forward with our friend John Allen to Caermarthen to our former Lodgings where having spent this seventh of the week we had two meetings. The morrow in the morning
12. 2. 1. with the few friends an Open and Good meeting 'twas and some Consolatory Encouraging Sentences was dropt there in the evening By Candle we had the other when thro' the curtain of the night the house was quite full it was a tolerable good meeting the emptiness of the Worlds Worship, Teachers, ways and customs was testified against faithfully and the peace and comfort those Injoy who depends on the Inward teacher the Lord of life and Glory the way of whose Spiritual working was Also spoken of to them thro' the power thereof which bro't on holy

Mo. Mth. Week  
Days Days

3. 2. awe over the minds of some present. On The morrow a meeting was appointed to be at Penplacc at the Widow Bowens Whither we went being accompanied by our Landlord William Reynolds as Guide having sat under a pretty heavy Cloud for some time in the meeting it was made manifest that a meeting by way of Conference was what would be of most service here accordingly it was proposed and the state of their meeting Enquired into Concerning their holding a week day meeting in which practice they Had formerly been but thro' luke-warmness and an Indifferent state had let it drop by which a numness was Come Upon them after having blamed one and 'tother for their non-attendance they agreed to Renew the former practice and after a little Silent waiting the meeting ended with an Admonishion Concerning the nature of true and Acceptable prayer we lodged here this night William Reynolds returning Home—and
12. 4. 3. The morrow set forward to Penbank to the House of Thomas Price (accompanied by David Bowen as Guide) where we had a meeting in the evening it was a tolerable good meeting tho' some was not so watchful as could have been desired they were advised to be more mindful of the duty they came about and Encouraged to revive their weekday meeting—and
5. 4. The morrow being Guided by Morgan Price set forward over the mountains to the Widow Ann Evan's at Gwern-drew in the parish of Llandweybrevy in Cardiganshire
6. 5. whose house we had a meeting the morrow a Solid and satisfactory meeting it was there being some of the neighbours well inclined and most of the few friends therein keeps there places pretty well being of those who was first Convinced in this place to whom Incouragement was given as well as the way of life declared to Others which covered the souls of some present thro' the power of him who is all sufficient that it seemed as a shower to refresh the drooping Heart of some there they were Encouraged to continue in the practice of holding a week day Meeting, from this place.
7. 6. The morrow we set forward Guided by Daniel Evan To John Goodwins at Escargouch on the Mountains Called Treveglwys in Montgomeryshire This friend and his wife are a Noble pair and well Esteemed of at home having
8. 7. built a meeting house and purchased the Ground at the
9. 1. Cost. We rested with them one day and the morrow being the first day we had a meeting (which was pretty large I think I may say very, Considering the few Inhabitants hereaway), and a Solemn and Good meeting it was

Mo. Mth. Week  
Days Days

9. 1. the States of some seeking souls present being a pretty deal spoken to, and Encouraged to go on.
10. 2. The morrow we set forward to Llanidloes guided by Edward Price and Called at a friends Jno. Evans and refreshed ourselves and horses then set forward for Talcoïd
11. 3. to Edward Jones's house and had a meeting there the morrow which was close and heavy and not being Clear appointed another to be the next day which was more
12. 12. 4. open it was an Edifying time, and friends was advised to be faithful to what was made known to be their duty and Encouraged to Continue in their practice of holding a week day meeting after which we Came to Cwm in the Parish of Llanvarreg—being Guided thither by Thomas
13. 5. Lloyd whose house it is where The morrow we had a meeting with some friends a Comfortable and refreshing time it was and friends were Encouraged to keep to week day meetings—from this friends accompanied by him till we came within knowledge we set forward for Ross
14. 6. in Herefordshire on the morrow where we got about 4 in the evening to William Kilsbys where some friends came to see us with whome we had a comfortable opportunity and the morrow Set forward for Nailsworth to the House of Henry Wilkins where we got about 2 in the
16. 1. afternoon Staid at Nailsworth over the morning meeting
17. 2. the morrow and then set forward for John Frys at Sutton Benjor accompanied by Rebecca Smith where the morrow we parted they going to a monthly meeting at Pickwick and I came home.

#### AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISTANCES OF EACH PLACE FROM THE OTHER.

From The passage to Shearnewton in about 7; Shearnewton to Pontypool, 17; Pontypool to Cardiff, 16; and . . . Back again, 16; Pontypool to Trevreg, 14; Trevreg to S. Hillary, 9; Hillary to Swanzey, 18; Swanzey to Newton, 3; and . . . Back again, 3; Swanzey to Caermarthen, 18; Caermarthen to Haverfordwest, 22; Harfordwest to Redstone, 9; Redstone to Newhouse, 9; Newhouse to Laugharn, 16; Laugharn to Caermarthen, 7; Caermarthen to Penplace, 12; Penplace . . . to Penbank, 7; Penbank to Gwerndrew, 12; Gwerndrew to Escargouch, 22; Escargouch to Talcoïd, 14; Talcoïd to Cwm, 6; Cwm to Hereford, 20. Total, 287. Computed welch miles.

There is in Wales two or three places where friends hold meetings, viz., at Dolobrân in Montgomeryshire, about 14 miles East From Escarcoch; at Twddynygarag Merionethshire House of Ellis Lewis,

about 14 miles North from Escarcoch ; and at Llwyndu in the same County about 7 miles from Tuddynygarag more north.<sup>1</sup>

## NO. 3.

## MEMBERS OF THE MONTHLY MEETING IN 1833.

The following Alphabetical List<sup>2</sup> of the members of the Monthly Meeting for the South Division of Wales, 9<sup>mo</sup>, 1833, was read and corrected at the Monthly Meeting held at Neath on the 14. xi., 1833.

Henry Bath, Elizabeth Bath, Mary Bath, Henry Bath (junior), Sarah Bevington (junior), Elizabeth Birchall, Eliza Catherine Birchall, Henry Bath Birchall, Mary Birchall, Ellen Birchall, Charles Birchall, Edward Boone, Samuel Bevan, Mary Clibborn, Valentine Clutton, Mary Clutton, Valentine George Clutton, John Clutton, Barnard Dickinson (junior), Rebecca Davis, Robert Eaton, Jane Eaton, Thomas Eaton, Anne Knight Eaton, Robert Eaton (junior), Jane Eaton (junior) Henry Knight Eaton, Margaret Eaton, John Fry, Priscilla Fry, Bevington Gibbins, Rebecca Gibbins, Henry Bevington Gibbins, Sarah Anna Gibbins, Frederick Joseph Gibbins, Thomas Gibbins, Charles Hayward, Maria Hayward, John Hawkins Hunt, Samuel Hosgood, Emily Hyatt, Charles Harris, Jas Kidd Hallum, Abraham Jackson, Elizabeth Jones, Elizabeth Lewis, Jane Lewis, Charles Lean, Annie Lloyd, William Moyse, William Moyse (junior), Thomas Moyse, Eliza Moyse, Christiana Moyse, Jane Moyse, Fanny Owen, Anna Price, Joseph Tregelles Price, Junia Price, Christiana Habberley Price, Thomas Redwood, Elizabeth Redwood ; Isaac Redwood, Lydia Redwood, Elizabeth Rees, Jonathan Rees, Jemima Rees, John Young Ring, Mary Ann Robinson, Paul Starbuck, Mary Starbuck, Eliza Sophia Starbuck, Alfred Starbuck, Alice Starbuck, William Sibbering, Rebecca Summerfield, Nathaniel Tregelles, Edwin Octavius Tregelles, Jenepher Tregelles, Dorothy Tregelles, Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, Anna Rebecca Tregelles, Deborah Waring, Charles Henry Waring, Josephine Sophia Waring, Anna Letitia Waring, Edwin Price Waring, Harriet Elizabeth Waring, Octavia Jane Waring, Clara Frances Waring, Thomas Williams, John Williamson, Sarah Williamson, John Williamson (junior) Elinor Sarah Williamson, Jane Williamson, John Matthew Young, Elizabeth Young.

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<sup>1</sup> 4 sheets containing a "Journal" of John Player, presented by his grandson, William John Player, to F. J. Gibbins, and loaned by F. W. Gibbins, J.P.

<sup>2</sup> From a MS. in the possession of F. W. Gibbins, J.P., Garthmor, Neath.



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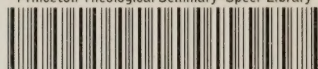
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